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ART. I.—*Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV, con varios Documentos inéditos concernientes á la Historia de la Marina Castellana y de los Establecimientos Españoles en Indias, coordinada é ilustrada por DON MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARRETE. Madrid, 1825. Tom. I. Viages de Colon: Almirantazgo de Castilla.—Tom. II. Documentos de Colon y de las primeros Poblaciones.* [8vo. pp. CLI. 455 and 455.]

THIS work is the commencement of a projected series of publications concerning the voyages and maritime discoveries of the Spaniards. It is published under the patronage of king Ferdinand; and in this respect, if in no other, would deserve to be considered a remarkable book. We are not prone to expect from that unhappy prince at any time, and least of all, in the present distracted state of his kingdom, any very enlightened acts for the promotion of learning. The occurrence of a prominent exception to the illiberal policy, which is accustomed to sway his counsels, is therefore in itself a political phenomenon of considerable interest. And the exception was most wisely chosen, as constituting a truly acceptable addition to our literary treasures, a durable monument of Spanish greatness and power, and a work containing attractive instruction for the inhabitants of both hemispheres.

Spain, amid the ruins of her magnificent empire, stripped of those mighty colonial possessions, which were at once her pride and her shame, her glory and her disgrace, the source of all her riches and the instrument appointed to work her downfall,—Spain still appears to derive a melancholy gratification from contemplating the fortunes and elucidating the history of her lost America. Under the auspices of that proud and bigoted, but chivalrous and highminded nation, it was the destiny of Columbus to discover the New World; and its history is therefore inseparably associated with her language and literature. We must look to that language for the only original and perfectly authentic records of the splendid achievements of the great navigator, as well as for the knowledge of later events in the history of this continent. The prolific invention of the Spanish people poured forth, in the days of their greatest glory, a golden tide of poetry, of romance, of productions in every branch of letters; but afterwards, when the influence of superstition fettered their genius, it luxuriated the more richly in those directions, where its efforts were still unchecked. Hence their literature abounds in works on the early history of the New World. Not a few of the adventurous voyagers and undaunted soldiers, who first explored this continent, and bore the Spanish arms in triumph over its broad expanse, were themselves accomplished writers, who described their own fortunes and the exploits of their compatriots in the frank, simple, and engaging style of brave men, schooled in the toils of the camp and the vicissitudes of active life. Most of the narratives thus composed were published by their authors, and became the foundation of digested history in after times. But others of still greater value, not having been originally written for the press, remained long in manuscript. Among the rest, the Spanish historians have continually referred to contemporary accounts of the voyages of Columbus, which were thus known to be still in existence, but lay buried in the archives of the state or of noble families, accessible only to the researches of a few favored individuals. These precious documents are now rescued from obscurity, and perchance from speedy destruction, by the publication before us, of whose contents we propose to give a cursory account.

Don Martín Fernandez de Navarrete, the editor of the work, holds a respectable office in the marine department of state. The design of his compilation appears to have grown out of a

plan, originated in 1789, for the establishment of a nautical library and repository of manuscripts relative to the marine, at Cadiz. Señor Navarrete then received a commission from Charles the Fourth to explore the archives and libraries of the kingdom, both public and private, for the purpose of collecting exact and authentic copies of whatever should be deemed suitable for the abovementioned object. His researches began at Madrid, in the royal library, the archives of the noble houses of Santa Cruz, Villafranca, Medina Sidonia, and Infantado, and the libraries of St Isidore, and the Escorial. Afterwards he extended his inquiries to other places, particularly to the various public registries in Seville, and the famous archives of Simancas, so jealously closed against the industry of Robertson, and where Muñoz found the most valuable and abundant materials for his unfinished history of the New World. He was very successful, too, in the discovery of letters and other documents concerning Columbus, many of them in his own handwriting, preserved in the archives of his descendant and family representative, the duke of Veragua. These investigations were frequently interrupted, either by reason of the official duties of Señor Navarrete, or still more in consequence of the protracted civil and foreign wars by which his illfated country has been so cruelly agitated. He resumed his labors, however, from time to time, as circumstances would permit, and, during the prosecution of his original design, was induced by the great historical value of the documents he collected, to undertake the present publication.

In respect to the order of arrangement in his compilation, Señor Navarrete has pursued a very natural and proper course. Columbus being the first navigator into the waters of the West, and having discovered the New World, and thus given impulse, direction, and dignity to the maritime enterprises of the Spaniards, his voyages and the documents relating to his personal fortunes, his family, and the primitive establishments in America, justly occupy the first place in this great national work. Following the order of discovery, the third volume is to comprise the early voyages to the Spanish Main and to Florida, the fourth the conquests of Cortez, and the rest, in succession, the expedition to the river of La Plata, and the straits of Magellan, to Chile, Peru, and California, to the South sea and the Asiatic islands. Of the competency of the editor to pursue the laborious track thus marked out, the volumes already printed fur-

nish ample evidence, in the wise selection of subsidiary documents, the judicious disposition of his matter, the utility and erudition of the notes and other illustrations, and the general propriety of the introductory account of the origin, nature, and value of the compilation.

It would be a poor compliment to the discernment of our readers, to enter into any discussion of the general value of publications of this description. Suffice it to say, that all the authenticity of history depends upon such documents. Writings of finished elegance, and composed expressly for popular perusal, are more inviting, undoubtedly, to a large class of readers, and, it may be, more immediately and universally profitable in the diffusion of knowledge; but original narratives or other writings, however repulsive to some by reason of their antiquated, rude, or unpolished style, are the only genuine sources of historical truth. And independently of this consideration, we freely confess, that, in our estimation, no elaborate beauty of composition, as applied to the description of events, is so enchanting as the native and racy simplicity of style, the businesslike directness, force, and truth, with which Xenophon and Cæsar, Sully and Clarendon, Columbus, Vespucci, and Cortez, and our own Winthrop, relate the important affairs wherein they were eye-witnesses, active participators, or the leading and controlling principals. We speak not of the ordinary tattling memoirs of ordinary persons, the chronicles of *the first person singular*, of no use but to minister gratification to the morbid appetite for private scandal which too widely prevails, and so rudely pushes itself, with coarse and reckless curiosity, into the sanctuary of private life. But we have in view those compositions in which great men have narrated the great events of their time. For those, therefore, who duly prize such writings, and who postpone the incidental ornaments of history to its rich substance, the glitter to the gold, the publication before us possesses a charm superior to any factitious allurements.

The longest document contained in this collection is a minute and careful account of the Admiral's *first voyage*, which is a literary curiosity of great intrinsic interest. It is in the form of a journal of the transactions and observations of each day, abridged from the original written by Columbus himself, and introduced by an explanatory prologue addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella. Señor Navarrete accidentally discovered this

invaluable manuscript, while searching for another purpose in the archives of the duke del Infantado. It is throughout in the handwriting of the celebrated Bartolomé de las Casas, who possessed many papers written by Columbus, which he made use of in the composition of his unpublished *Historia de las Indias*, and who unquestionably abstracted this journal from the Admiral's log-book, giving a literal copy of the most important passages. Not the slightest doubt of its authenticity can exist. Indeed Las Casas inserted an abridgment of it in his manuscript history, which served as the basis of the works of Herrera and other standard historians of the New World.

The introduction to the journal exhibits in the very words of Columbus, the views and feelings with which he set sail upon this memorable voyage. We translate it word for word, leaving the original arrangement of the sentences untouched, because it would be difficult to break them without taking serious liberties with the text.

‘In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi.—Whereas, most christian, most high, most excellent, and most powerful princes, our lords, king and queen of the Spains and the isles of the sea, this present year 1492, after your Highnesses had ended the war against the Moors who reigned in Europe, and had finished the war in the great city of Granada, where this present year on the second day of January I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses planted by force of arms on the towers of Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said city, and saw the Moorish king come out of the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses and of my lord the Prince; and then in that same month by the information which I had given your Highnesses of the lands of India, and of a Prince called *Gran Can*, which signifies in our language King of Kings, how he and his predecessors had often sent to Rome to solicit teachers of our holy faith to instruct him in it, and the holy father had never provided him any, and thus many people were lost by believing in idolatries, and harboring doctrines of perdition;—your Highnesses, as catholic christians, and Princes, who are lovers of the holy christian faith and promoters of it, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to said regions of India, to see the said princes, and the people and country, and the disposition of them and of the whole, and the course to be adopted for their conversion to our holy faith; and ordained that I should not proceed by land to the East, as it hath been customary to go, but by way of the West, in which direction we have to this day no certain evidence that any person has passed. So

after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and seignories, in the same month of January, your Highnesses commanded me to proceed to those regions of India with a sufficient armament; and for this granted me great favors, and ennobled me so that thenceforth in time to come I might style myself *Don*, and should be high admiral of the ocean, and viceroy and perpetual governor of all the islands and mainland which I should discover and acquire, and which should thereafter be discovered and acquired in the ocean, and so my oldest son should succeed me, and from degree to degree for ever; and I left the city of Granada the 12th day of the month of May of the same year 1492 on Saturday: I went to the town of Palos, a seaport, where I equipped three vessels very suitable for such a purpose; and departed from the said port, well supplied with much provisions and many seamen, the third day of the month of August of the said year on Friday, half an hour before sunrise, and steered for the Canary islands of your Highnesses, which are in the said ocean, thence to take my departure, and navigate until I should reach the Indies, and deliver the embassy of your Highnesses to those princes, and thus accomplish what you had commanded me; and therefore I thought to write all this voyage very exactly from day to day, every thing which I should do, or see, or experience, as will be seen in the sequel. And beside describing every night what passes in the day, and every day how we sail in the night, I design to construct a new chart for navigation, in which I will mark the waters and lands of the ocean in their proper places under their points; and moreover to compose a book, and represent the whole by picture, in latitude from the equator, and longitude from the West; and above all it is very necessary that I forego sleep and attempt much in navigation in order to accomplish it, which things will require great toil.'—Tom. i. p. 1—3.

The first thing, which strikes us in the journal, is the artifice, to which Columbus was continually driven, to sustain the sinking courage of his crews. Nowhere is the exalted character of this truly great man more strikingly displayed, than in the fortitude and magnanimity with which he bore up against the manifold obstacles to the prosecution of his magnificent undertaking. He had suffered the hardships of penury and oppression, with spirits unbroken, with hopes unrepressed. Animated by the conviction that undiscovered worlds lay hidden in the western sea, and that he was the instrument ordained to discover and explore them, he had happily overcome the superstitions of the priesthood, who in the outset stigmatized his hypothesis by the odious name of heresy. The incredulity of the govern-

ment had yielded to the force of truth ; and its parsimony was melted by his ardor. The narrowminded individuals, who, unable to rise themselves, hung the weight of their jealousy around his neck as usual, to hold down his lofty genius to the level of their own lowly career, he had shaken off at last in triumph. He was now floating upon the full tide of adventurous experiment. But here also the ignorance and envy of his fellows pursued him at every hour. His unalterable belief in the existence of the lands he sought, would have availed him little, had not his preeminent nautical skill exacted the confidence of those around him, and his intellect and courage proved equal to any emergency of fortune. For when his daring prow was pointed to the west, and his companions felt themselves on the bosom of the great deep, leaving home if not life behind, and sailing they knew not whither, it demanded a rare combination of extraordinary talents for one man, an obscure foreigner, to retain the obedience of his turbulent but fainthearted followers.

Their terrors began to be troublesome a few days after quitting Gomera, on perceiving the variation of the magnetic needle. Columbus deserves the honor of being the first to observe this phenomenon, which still remains among the unexplained mysteries of nature. The surprise and consternation of his officers and men on the occasion are sufficient proof that it was unnoticed until then. Some writers have ascribed the credit of making this observation to Cabot, in 1497 ; but Las Casas, Ferdinand Columbus, Herrera, and Muñoz had all concurred in claiming it for the Admiral ; and the following extract from the journal of his *first voyage*, dated September 13th, taken in connexion with a passage in his account of his *third voyage*, is considered by Señor Navarrete as establishing the fact. He succeeded in quieting the apprehensions of his people by an ingenious explanation, which, however, was unsatisfactory to his own mind. In reading the passages we are about to cite, it should be observed, that they are not taken from the original journal of Columbus, but from a mere abstract in the words of Las Casas ; and as it appears from Muñoz's unfinished *Historia del Nuevo-Mundo*, that Columbus kept two journals, one private and authentic, and the other with false reckoning and specious statements, it would seem that both were used in making this abstract, the phrase 'the Admiral says' often introducing not what he thought, but what he wished his compan-

ions to believe. Las Casas has given some long passages in the very words of Columbus, but such are accompanied by a notice to that effect, and in Señor Navarrete's book are distinguished by inverted commas.

'*Thursday, Sept. 13th.*—This day and night, continuing their course West, they sailed 33 leagues, and counted 3 or 4 less. The currents were contrary. This day, at the commencement of night, the needles varied (noruesteaban) to the Northwest, and they also varied somewhat to the Northwest in the morning.'

'*Monday, Sept. 17th.*—Continued their course West, and sailed in the day and night fifty leagues and upwards; noted down but 47; the current favored them; they saw many weeds and very frequently; it was rockweed, and came from towards the west; they judged that land was near. The mates took the North by marking it, and found that the needles varied to the Northwest (las agujas noruesteaban) a whole quarter, which terrified the mariners, who stood in suspense, without saying for what. The admiral perceived it, and ordered them to mark the North anew at daybreak, and they found that the needles pointed aright; the cause was that the star which appears has motion, and not the needles. At daybreak this day saw many more weeds, which appeared to be river weeds, in which they found a live crab, which the Admiral kept, and says that these are sure signs of land, because they are never found 80 leagues from shore. They found the sea water less salt since they left the Canaries, the air more and more mild; they were all in good spirits, and the vessels contended which should go fastest, to be the first to descry land; they saw many tunny fish, and the crew of the Niña killed one. Here the Admiral says those signs were from the West, where I hope in that high God, in whose hand is all victory, that he will very soon give us land. This morning he says he saw a white bird called *Rabo de junco*, which is not wont to sleep at sea.'

'*Sunday, Sept. 30th.*—At night the needles varied a quarter to the northwest, and at daybreak they agreed exactly with the star; by which it appears that the star has motion like the other stars, and that the needles always indicate the true point.'

Tom. i, p. 8, 9, 15.

It has been generally understood that Columbus was compelled to deceive his companions in regard to the distance they sailed, and the various signs of proximity to land. The birds they saw were land birds; the weeds were freshly disengaged from rocks; and the fish were river fish, that never ventured far into salt water; sometimes the wind was a breeze from

shore ; and thus it was that every possible expedient was tried to counteract the fears and feed the credulity of ignorant mariners. We translate several passages of the journal, which illustrate these remarks.

'*Sunday, Sept. 9th.*—Sailed that day 19 leagues, and determined to count less than was sailed, so that if the voyage should be long, the people should not be terrified or dismayed.'

'*Wednesday, Sept. 19th.*—Continued their course, and between day and night sailed 25 leagues, because there was a calm ; wrote down 22. At 10 this day a pelican came to the ship, and another towards evening, which are not wont to fly twenty leagues from land ; it drizzled without wind, which is a sure sign of land ; the admiral would not stop to beat up and down to ascertain whether there was land ; but he held for certain that to the north and south there were islands, as in truth there were, and he was sailing in the midst of them ; because his wish was to proceed on to the Indies.' [Columbus was in fact at this time only 10 leagues from some small islets or rocks, in lat. 28° or 29°.]

'*Saturday, Sept. 22nd.*—Sailed northwesterly, beating up and down ; sailed 30 leagues ; saw hardly any weeds. Here the Admiral says, "This head wind was very necessary for me ; because my people had become highly excited, in the idea that over these seas no wind blew by which they could return to Spain."

'*Sunday, Sept. 23rd.*—The weeds were in great quantities, and they found crabs in them, and as the sea was smooth and tranquil, the people murmured, saying that they had lost the deep water, and there never would be a wind for returning to Spain ; but after a while the sea rose without wind, which astonished them.'

* Tom, i. p. 7, 11, 12.

We pass over many entries in the journal of like import, and come to the time, when the vessels actually approached their destination.

'*Wednesday, Oct. 10th.*—Sailed west southwest, went 10 miles the hour, occasionally 12, and sometimes 7, and in the 24 hours, 59 leagues ; reckoned to the people only 44. Here the crews could endure it no longer ; they complained of the length of the voyage ; but the Admiral encouraged them as well as he could, giving them good hopes of the great profits they would make. And he added that it was idle for them to complain, because he was going to the Indies, and should keep on till he found them, with the help of our Lord.

'*Thursday, Oct. 11th.*—Sailed west southwest, had much sea, more than in the whole voyage before. Saw *pardelas* and a green

rush near the vessel. The crew of the *Pinta* saw a cane and a log, and took up a stick of wood wrought to all appearance with iron, and a piece of cane, and another plant which grows on land, and a small board. Those of the *Niña* also saw other signs of shore, and a branch loaded with rose-berries. By these signs all were relieved and rejoiced. Sailed this day by sunset 27 leagues.

‘After sunset sailed on their first course west. Went 12 miles the hour, and at 2 o’clock A. M. had sailed 90 miles, that is $22\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. [Italian miles of 4 to the league.] And because the caravel *Pinta* was a better sailer, and kept ahead of the Admiral, she discovered land and made the signals prescribed by him. This land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana; the Admiral, however at 10 in the evening, standing on the quarter deck saw a light, although it was a thing so indistinct that he would not affirm it was land; but he called Pero Gutierrez, a gentleman of the king’s household, and told him that a light appeared, and that he should observe it, which he did and saw it. He also mentioned it to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the king sent in the fleet for inspector, who could not see it on account of his standing in an unsuitable position. After the Admiral mentioned it, it was seen once or twice, and resembled a wax candle, moving up and down, which seemed to be an indication of land. But the Admiral felt certain the shore was near. Wherefore when they had said the *Salve*, which all mariners are accustomed to say or chant in their way, all together, the admiral desired and admonished them to keep a good watch from the forecastle, and look out well for the land, and that to whomever should first say he saw land, he would forthwith give a silk jacket, beside the other favors which the sovereigns had promised, which were ten thousand maravedis to the first who should see it. At 2 o’clock A. M. the shore was in sight, 2 leagues off. They handed all sail, and stood under the square sail alone, and lay to until Friday, when they reached one of the Lucayos islands, which the natives called Guanahani.’—Tom. i. p. 18—20.

Much doubt and uncertainty have existed as to the island, which Columbus first discovered. He gave it the name of *San Salvador*, and it has been generally supposed to be the island now called St Salvador or Cat island. The position of this island not agreeing perfectly with the Admiral’s course and description, Muñoz conjectured that Watling’s island was the true Guanahani. But Señor Navarette adduces very strong reasons for believing it to be the largest of the Turk’s islands. The course of Columbus from Guanahani was continually west, from island to island, till he arrived at Nipe in Cuba. Now this

fact is irreconcilable with the idea, that Guanahani is Cat island, which lies nearly due north of Nipe. Besides, the great Bahama bank, and a long chain of keys, called *Cayos de la Cadena*, stretching between St Salvador and Cuba, interpose a most serious obstacle to holding such a westerly course as Columbus pursued. But by setting out from Nipe, and proceeding in a retrograde direction along his course as he very particularly describes it in his journal, we may easily trace his path, and shall be convinced that Guanahani is no other than Turk's island. Add to this, that his description of it accords exactly with the latter, especially in the circumstance of there being a large lake in the middle of it. This point is of no great consequence, but it is satisfactory to know precisely what spot in America was first revealed to the eye of Europeans.

In the subsequent parts of the journal, we frequently discover the influence of the opinions which Columbus had imbibed from the travels of Marco Polo and the famous letter of Paolo Toscanelli. It is the Indies, and the Indies alone, which he seeks. Although his reason assured him of the true figure of our globe, and he deduced the right consequences from this position, and thus was much in advance of his age, yet he had a most vague and incorrect idea of the actual locality of the Indies. After he has discovered Guanahani, his inquiries of the savages invariably point to *Cathay* or *Cipango*, or other distant Asiatic countries, at which he every moment expected to arrive. Indeed, many years afterwards, in a letter written to the pope in 1502, he says; 'This island is Tarsis, it is Cethia, it is Ophir, and Ophaz and Cipango, and we have called it Hispaniola.* Conformable to this idea are the entries in his journal.

'*Friday, Oct. 26th.*—He set sail for Cuba, because by the signs which the Indians gave him of its magnitude, and of the gold and pearls there, he thought it must be the same with Cipango.'

'*Tuesday, Oct. 30th.*—He says that he must exert himself to go to the Grand Can, who he thought was there, or at the city of Cathay, belonging to the Grand Can, which he says is very large, as he was told before he left Spain.'—Tom. I. p. 40, 44.

We pass over the intermediate portions of the journal, in which the Admiral relates his discoveries among the islands, describing the appearance and productions of the country,

* Coleccion, Tom. II. p. 280.

and the condition of the inhabitants. The luxuriance of tropical vegetation, abounding in noble trees, splendid flowers, and exquisite fruits, and springing from a virgin soil of exhaustless fertility, awakens his admiration at every step. Nor is he less enchanted with the blandness and suavity of the atmosphere of the new regions he was exploring, where the people, the climate, the riches of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, all excited his imagination, and drew from him the warmest praises. The riches planted in those beautiful islands by the hand of nature still remain; and the conquerors have increased their abundance by transporting thither and naturalizing the congenial productions of Asia and Europe. But in one other respect how changed is the whole face of things there! The native races of Guanahani, Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, have vanished like the dew of morning; and Africa is unpeopled to supply their place. Nothing was more deeply impressed on the mind of Columbus than the perfectly *amiable* character of the inhabitants. He dwells upon it in the description of every island at which he touched. At peace among themselves, unarmed, and engaged in the tranquil arts of cultivation, they dreaded nothing but the ruinous descents of the brutal and ferocious Caribbees, They received the Spaniards with unsuspecting confidence, as beings of a higher order descended among them for objects of philanthropy and beneficence. How cruelly they were disappointed in the sequel, was but too fatally proved by their speedy destruction under the merciless rule of their foreign masters.

Our last extract from the journal is a characteristic passage, relating to the storm on the passage home, when Columbus and his companions so narrowly escaped being lost, and with them the knowledge of his wonderful discoveries.

Thursday, Feb. 14th.—[After giving an account of the violence of the tempest, the journal proceeds;] he [Columbus] ordered them to draw for a pilgrim to go to St Mary of Guadeloupe, and carry a wax candle of five pounds' weight; and that all should make a vow that he to whose lot it fell, should perform the pilgrimage. For this purpose he directed them to take as many peas as there were persons on board, and to mark on one with a knife the form of a cross, and to put them in a cap and mix them well. The first who put in his hand was the Admiral, and he drew the crossed pea, and so the lot fell to him, and thenceforth he considered himself under obligations to make the pilgrimage in compliance with his vow. They cast lots a second time to send a pilgrim to St Mary

of Loretto, in the March of Ancona, in the territory of the Pope, where our Lady has wrought and still works many and great miracles, and the lot fell on a mariner of Port St Mary, called Pedro de Villa.' 'It was agreed that another pilgrim should go and watch a night in St Clara de Moguer, and have a mass said, for which they drew lots with the peas again, and the lot fell on the Admiral himself. After this, the Admiral and all the crew made a vow, that on touching land they would all go in their shirt sleeves in procession to offer prayers in a church dedicated to our Lady.'—Tom. i. p. 150.

The journal is followed by two letters from Columbus concerning his first voyage, one to Luis de Santangel, and the other to Rafael Sanchez; after which come an unpublished narrative of the second voyage by a certain Dr Chanca, who accompanied Columbus therein, and a Memorial by the Admiral on the same subject. The account of the third voyage is an original written by Columbus, discovered among the archives of Infanzado in company with his journal of the first, and like that in the handwriting of Las Casas. Beside relating his discoveries on that expedition, it contains a variety of geographical speculations, and some exhibition of scholarship, probably designed to make an impression upon the king and queen, to whom the narrative is addressed. These speculations display great practical acuteness, and much ingenuity in the application of all that books or experience could supply for his purpose, but are devoid of permanent interest.

The connexion of Las Casas with the family of Columbus, and with his manuscript papers, has given Señor Navarrete opportunity to make some observations upon the character of that bold and energetic, but not always judicious, philanthropist. They settle a point in the prelate's biography, and in the history of our country, which has been very warmly controverted, on many occasions, but cannot any longer be considered a matter of question. We allude to the agency of Las Casas in the introduction of negro slaves into America for the relief of the original inhabitants; the circumstances attending which, and the proofs of it, deserve a little explanation. The charge against him has usually rested upon the assertion of Herrera, who incidentally mentions the fact, and in very general terms.* But it was not known on what authority he made the allegation, and therefore his accuracy and veracity have been im-

* Decad. II. lib. ii. cap. 20.

peached by several writers, over zealous for the fame of Las Casas.

Bartolomé de Las Casas belonged to a family of French extraction, settled at Seville. His father, Francisco de Casaus, accompanied Columbus to America in 1493, gained a fortune in a few years, and returning to Spain educated his son at Salamanca for the church. His views very soon acquired a coloring in favor of the Indians from an incident, which happened at an early period of his life. Columbus had, of his own authority, made slaves of a number of Indians, and sold them publicly in Andalusia. This imprudent act greatly offended queen Isabella. She caused them to be ransomed and placed in the custody of Pedro de Torres, a gentleman of the court; and by a *cedula* of June 20th, 1500, ordered them all, being twenty-one persons, to be conveyed back again to their own country, under care of Bobadilla. It so happened that the father of Las Casas had given him an Indian slave for an attendant, whom, at this time, he emancipated, in testimony of his sincere compassion for the Americans. Animated with zeal for their temporal and spiritual welfare, he went to Hispaniola in 1502, at the age of twentyeight, in company with Ovando, and distinguished himself through nearly half a century, by his indefatigable and disinterested efforts in the cause of humanity. He spared no exertions, he heeded not the violence of the colonists, nor the intrigues of the courtiers; he devoted his whole soul, in short, to the sacred duty of alleviating the sufferings of the Indians. Disappointed and disgusted by his want of success, he buried himself in a convent for a time, which, however, he soon left, to resume his labors of benevolence. In 1544, he rejected the offer of the bishopric of Cusco; but in a short time accepted that of Chiapa. Not being well received there, he renounced the station, and established his residence at Valladolid, where he lived until near the close of his life, dying at Madrid in 1566, ninetytwo years of age.

His writings were numerous, relating chiefly to the favorite objects of his life. But the most important of them, a General History of the Indies, remains yet unpublished, in consequence, undoubtedly, of the exaggerated representations of the cruelty of his countrymen, and the severe reflections upon their conduct, which it contains. He himself appears to have been aware of its objectionable character; for he gave the manuscript in charge to the principals of his order, enjoining them not to suffer

it to be published or read until after a period of forty years had elapsed. And the Spanish Academy of History, having examined the work with a view to publication, determined it to be inexpedient. And the undeniable truth is, that, in the warmth of his generosity in behalf of one great class of the human family, he was betrayed into the extreme, and became guilty of injustice towards others.

Las Casas left Cuba in 1517, where he then held an office under Diego Velasquez, and went to Spain to advocate the cause of the Indians. He found the court at Aranda, where the regent Ximenez lay languishing under a mortal disease, and daily expecting the arrival of king Charles from the Netherlands. Accordingly he repaired to Valladolid, where the young prince was to meet the assembled Cortes of Castile. Charles was only seventeen years old, in a country whose language he but imperfectly understood, and completely ruled by the Flemish noblemen, who followed him to Spain, and surrounded his person. They wholly occupied their master's favor, which they made subservient to the most insatiable and barefaced avarice. Nominations to office, privileges, and patents of monopoly were greedily engrossed by them, and publicly sold with shameless venality.* Las Casas proposed to them an expedient for accomplishing his end, which the stern integrity of Ximenez had caused him indignantly to reject, but to which their rapacity lent a favoring ear. Influenced by them, Charles had been profuse in his grants of *repartimientos* and other privileges in America, and had in several instances permitted the transportation of slaves to the colonies. Las Casas, acting upon this hint, dexterously availed himself of the good will of the lord chamberlain, Mr de Laxao, and of other Flemings to whom he gained access. He drew up an elaborate memorial on the hardships of the Indians, and, among other measures for their alleviation, advised the exportation of negroes to the islands, and that each Spanish colonist should be allowed to carry freely four blacks, namely, two males and two females. The historian Muñoz had access to all the archives of the Spanish monarchy, and made copies of many valuable papers, which, if he had lived to complete his history of the New World, would have been published as an appendix to that work. Señor Navarrete says that among the papers

* Robertson's Charles V. Book I. An. 1518.

collected by Muñoz, there is a copy of the very memorial of Las Casas containing these suggestions. In pursuance of them, application was made to the board of trade at Seville to learn how many slaves would be requisite; their calculations fixed the number at four thousand. The Flemings immediately procured a privilege for the exclusive possession of this trade during eight years, which they sold to the Genoese for 24,000 ducats; a favor, says Herrera, most injurious to the population of these islands and to their native inhabitants. Such are the well ascertained facts relative to this transaction.

The remaining original documents in the first volume are detached accounts of Columbus' fourth voyage, and some private letters written by him at that disastrous period of his life. It seemed as if his evil fortune was then bent upon crushing his generous spirit, by heaping calamities on his devoted head; and all his writings bespeak a heart wounded and indignant at his wrongs. We extract an affecting passage from a letter written by him to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1503, whilst he was suffering every extremity of misery, cast among the savages of the island of Jamaica.

'Seven years that I waited in the royal court, all, who were spoken to concerning my enterprise, laughed it to scorn; now, even the poorest mechanics supplicate to make discoveries. There is reason to believe that they go to plunder, and if they are permitted, will attain their object with great prejudice to my honor, and much injury to the business. It is good for each to render unto God his own, and to accept what belongs to him. This is a just sentiment, and of a just person. The lands which now obey your Highnesses are more than all the rest in the possession of christians, and rich. After that I, with the divine favor, had subjected them to your high and royal authority, and brought them into a train to afford the greatest revenue, of a sudden, while secure and happy I was expecting ships to return to your Highnesses' presence with victory and glorious news of gold, I was seized and thrown into a ship with two brothers, loaded with irons, naked in body, extremely ill treated, without being summoned or convicted judicially. Who believes that a poor foreigner would pretend in such a place to rise against your Highnesses without cause, unaided by any other prince, standing alone amid your vassals and countrymen, and having all my children in your royal court? I entered your service at the age of twentyeight, and now not a hair of my head but is white, and my body infirm, and all that I had saved is wasted, and was taken from me and sold, and from

my brothers, even to the smallest garment, without being heard or examined, greatly to my dishonoring.' . . .

'The pure intentions with which I always served your Highnesses, and this affront, so undeserved, will not suffer me to be silent if I would. I beseech your Highnesses to pardon me.—I am as wholly ruined as I said. Hitherto I have wept for others; Heaven have mercy on me now, and let the earth weep for me. In temporal things, I possess not a farthing for an offering; in spiritual, I have fared here in the Indies in the manner already stated; solitary in this misery, infirm, looking every day for death, and surrounded by a host of savages full of cruelty and enemies to us, and so cut off from the Holy Sacraments of the Holy Church, that my soul will be forgotten, if it parts from the body here. Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, and justice. I did not sail upon this voyage to seek for fame or substance; this is certain, for all my hopes in that respect were long since dead. I came to your Highnesses with pure intention and with good zeal; and I speak no falsehood. I humbly beseech your Highnesses, if it so please God, to take me from this place, that I may finally make my departure for Rome and other pilgrimages. Whose life and high estate may the Holy Trinity preserve and augment. Dated in the Indies, island of Jamaica, July seventh, fifteen hundred and three.'

Tom. i. p. 311, 312.

With this illfated expedition closed the public services of Columbus. After a series of disasters and sufferings, which few men could have supported, he again reached home, shattered in constitution as in fortune. Among the documents of a miscellaneous character, which occupy the remainder of the first volume and the whole of the second in Señor Navarrete's Collection, the most curious are some hitherto unpublished letters of the Admiral's, written during the declining years of his eventful life. They speak of the hardships he had undergone in his last voyage; of his straitened circumstances, his growing infirmities, and the affliction of a painful disease. Although reduced to the very brink of despair by the injustice of his king, yet there is nothing harsh or disrespectful in the occasional murmurings, the half suppressed complaints, which sickness and sorrow wring from his manly spirit. Soon after his arrival in Spain, he had found his patroness Isabella no more, and he was obliged to sue to Ferdinand alone for succor. All his own resources were exhausted in the support of his companions during his voyage, which he provided for out of his own funds, and for which he was now seeking reimbursement

of the king. Beside this, he felt that the restitution of his authority and revenues in America, so long promised and so long delayed, was due to his unprecedented services. Under these circumstances, the letters in question were written, chiefly to his son Diego. The following extracts illustrate their tone and contents.

‘The bishop of Palencia, ever since I came to Castile, has favored me and desired my honor. At present it is necessary to supplicate him to be pleased to further the redress of my numerous grievances; and that the agreement and letters of privilege granted me by their Highnesses should be complied with, and my many losses satisfied. And it is certain that if their Highnesses do this, it will multiply their possessions and grandeur to an incredible degree. . . . True it is, that I have served their Highnesses with as much diligence and love as would suffice and more than suffice to gain paradise; and if in any thing I have failed, it was because it was impossible, and my knowledge and faculties could go no further. God himself in such case asks of men nothing but the will.’ . . .

‘I wish you to write to me frequently. Every hour I am anxious to see your letters. Reason may tell you that I have now no other gratification. Many couriers come every day, and the news here is such as makes my hair stand erect to hear it, so contrary to what my soul desires. May it please the Holy Trinity to give safety to the queen, because with her was arranged what has already been effected.—I sent you another courier, Thursday was eight days. He ought by this time to be on his return hither. By him I wrote to you that my departure was certain, and the hope of getting there, according to experience, quite the contrary; because this my disorder is so troublesome, and the cold so apt to favor it, that I could not escape stopping in some country inn. The litter was all ready. The weather was so uncommon that it seemed to all to be impossible for me to go out, as it began; and that it was better to take care of myself, and to study my health, than to place my person in such manifest peril.—In those letters I told you what I now tell you, that it was well considered for you to stay there at such a time, and that it was a reason for beginning to advance business; and the reason is of much weight in this respect. It seems to me that you ought to draw off in fair characters that portion of the letter which their Highnesses wrote to me, in which they say they will fulfil their engagements to me, and put you in possession of everything; and present this with another writing, setting forth my infirmity, and how impossible it is for me to go at present to kiss their royal feet and hands; and that the Indies will speedily be lost, and are filled with flames in

a thousand quarters ; and that I have not received nor do receive any part of my revenues from thence ; and that nobody dares undertake to collect anything there ; and that I live by borrowing. All the money which I possessed, I have spent there in bringing home the people who accompanied me ; for it would have loaded my conscience to leave and abandon them.' . . .

' Make much account of your brother ; he has a good disposition, and is quitting boyhood. Ten brothers would not be too many for you. I never found a surer friend on right or left than my brothers.' Tom. i. 333—339.

These letters were written at Seville, and mostly bear the superscription, ' To my dearest son D. Diego Colon.' Their subscription is very peculiar ; and, considering the individual, is an object of curiosity. They terminate thus ;

' Thy father who loves thee more than himself,

. S .

. S . A . S .

X M Y

XPO FERENS.'

Several singularities are observable in this cipher. The combination of Greek and Latin letters betrays a tincture of the pedantry of that most pedantic age. In the early part of his life, Columbus, as we learn from his son's history, subscribed his name *Columbus de Terra rubra* ;* but adopted the above cipher after his acquisition of rank and dignity. Various conjectures have been made as to its signification. Spotorno supposes that the words denoted may be either *Xristus Sancta Maria, Yosephus* ; or *Salva me Xristus, Maria, Yosephus*.† These explanations are purely conjectural, however ; and therefore we may be allowed to offer our own *guess* for consideration, which is in favor of the first reading, only substituting the word *Jesus* for *Yosephus*.

Among these letters there is one concerning Amerigo Vespucci. It clearly shows the perfect understanding which subsisted between these two great men so late as the year 1505, in the beginning of which it was written. This fact serves to corroborate the opinions heretofore advanced by us, that Vespucci was innocent of any attempt to rob Columbus of his well earned laurels. The narratives of the former, describing his voyages, were circulated in Italy long before this time ; and if

* Ferdinand Columbus, c. 11.

† Codice Colombo-Americano, Int. p. 67.

they contained the grossly false statements charged upon them, it could not have remained concealed from Columbus, the injured party. Yet how decided are the following testimonials of the integrity of Vespucci.

‘Diego Mendez left here Monday the 3d inst. After his departure I conversed with Amerigo Vespucci, the bearer of this, who is called thither by some concerns of navigation.—*He always had a wish to do me pleasure.* He is a very excellent man. Fortune has been adverse to him as to many others; his labors have not produced him so much as reason requires. He goes as in my service, and with great desire to do something which may redound to my benefit, if occasion offers. I do not know here what I can employ him upon, for my advantage; because I know not what they want there. He goes determined to do for me every thing possible. See in what he can assist, and labor on it, for he will do and say everything, and will put it in train; and let everything be done secretly, so as to avoid suspicion. I have told him all that could be told him relating the subject, and informed him of the remuneration which has been and is made me.’

Tom. i. p. 351.

A singular proof occurs in this work of the infirm state of Columbus’s health more than a year before his death. It is the original *cedula*, granting him permission to ride upon a mule. In 1494, it seems, Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited the use of mules in the saddle for any but the clergy and females, in consequence of the rapidly increasing diminution of the number of horses in Spain. This law was very rigidly enforced, and exception from its provisions was procured with great difficulty. The *cedula* in question runs thus;

‘By the king. Whereas I am informed that you, the admiral Don Christopher Columbus, are indisposed in body by reason of certain infirmities, which you have had and now have, and that you cannot ride on horseback without great prejudice to your health; therefore, in consideration of the foregoing, and of your age, by these presents I give you permission to ride a mule with saddle and bridle, in whatsoever parts of these kingdoms and seignories you choose or deem meet, notwithstanding the decree making disposition therein. And I command the justices in whatsoever parts of said kingdoms and seignories not to make or consent to making any impediment respecting the same, under penalty of 10,000 maravedis for the Chamber against whoever does the contrary. Dated at Toro, February 23d, 1505.’

Tom. ii. p. 304.

In a review of the *Codice Colombo-Americano*, we gave an account of the acrimonious controversy maintained in Italy, concerning the birthplace of Columbus, and our own reasons for believing him a native of Genoa. That controversy rested upon the supposed want of any authentic document to establish the fact. It was known, however, that in the great lawsuit for the admiral's inheritance, an instrument had been adduced, pretending to be the institution of a *majorat* in his family, which, if genuine, would settle the question for ever. In one part of it we find the words *siendo yo nacido en Genova*, (Tom. II. p. 228.) and in another, *mando al dicho D. Diego, mi hijo, que tenga y sostenga siempre en la Ciudad de Genova una persona de nuestro linage . . . pues que della sali y en ella naci*. (Tom. II. p. 232.) These expressions are perfectly conclusive, if Columbus actually wrote them; and although the authenticity of the instrument has hitherto been disputed, no doubt on the subject can exist any longer. Among the public documents preserved in the archives of Simancas, there is an original royal charter, granted in 1501, confirming the Admiral's testament, and as usual in such cases, setting forth the whole of it *verbatim*. This corresponds exactly with the copy produced by the Spanish claimants of the dukedom of Veragua; and removes every shadow of suspicion in respect to its genuineness, and of course establishes incontestibly the birthplace of Columbus.

Señor Navarrete has collected some curious manuscript notices of the early life of the great navigator, his occupations, taste, studies, and condition, which tend to throw clearer light upon his character and fortunes. According to him, Bernaldez, the curate of Los Palacios, writes, that Columbus was known in Andalusia, before his voyages, as a *dealer in printed books*; and Las Casas also confirms the assertion, saying, that in the first years of his attendance upon the court, his necessities became so great, that he was used to project nautical charts and sell them to seamen, to sustain life.* He was at length rescued from this abject condition by Luis de la Cerda, count and afterwards duke of Medinaceli. It appears from a letter of this nobleman's, preserved at Simancas, and now first published, that he protected Columbus in his household for the space of two years; and being interested in commerce by reason of his possessing the lordship of Puerto de Santa Maria,

* Coleccion, Tom. I. Int. p. lxxviii.

he himself would have fitted out Columbus, had not queen Isabella deprived him of that signal honor, an honor appropriate only to the power and splendor of royalty.*

To these circumstances we may add the statements made by the Admiral, in a *collection of prophecies*, compiled by him in 1501, relative to the restoration of Jerusalem and the discovery of the Indies. What a fantastic combination of subjects, to interest the leisure hours of the daring discoverer of America! It is preserved in the Colombine library, the donation of Ferdinand Columbus to the cathedral church of Seville. We conclude our extracts with part of this manuscript, being the commencement of a letter addressed to the king and queen.

‘Most high sovereigns: From the earliest age I have been engaged in navigating the sea, and have continued therein until now. This art inclines whoever pursues it to desire to know the secrets of the world. Forty years have now elapsed since I entered upon this occupation. All which has hitherto been navigated, all this I have explored. I have held intercourse and conversation with wise men, ecclesiastics and seculars, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Moors, and with many others of other sects.

‘Towards this my desire I have found God propitious, and received from him a spirit of intelligence therein. In seamanship he made me to abound; he gave me a sufficiency of astrology, and so of geometry and arithmetic; and skill in the mind and hands to delineate the globe, and upon it the cities, rivers, and mountains, isles and harbors, everything in its proper situation.

‘During this time I have seen, and studied to see, all writings on cosmography, history, chronicles, and philosophy, and other arts; so that God, with palpable hand, opened my understanding to see that it was practicable to sail hence to the Indies; and he disposed my inclination for the execution thereof. And with this desire I repaired to your Highnesses. All those who heard of my enterprise, denied it with derision and laughter. All the sciences of which I have above spoken availed me nothing, nor their authorities. In your Highnesses alone there remained faith and constancy. Who can doubt that this light was from the Holy Spirit, as well as from me, which with marvellous rays of clearness consoled you by his holy and sacred Scripture?’

Tom. II. p. 262, 263.

We flatter ourselves that our readers feel the lively interest and deep sympathy in the fortunes of Columbus, which the exalted character of that extraordinary man, and his connexion

*Coleccion, Tom. II. no. 14. p. 20.

with our own hemisphere, demand of us as Americans and as admirers of the noblest qualities of human genius. If so, they will justly appreciate the value of the documents, which we have briefly analyzed. It should not be supposed, however, that this work contains a complete life of Columbus, or all the requisite materials for the composition of one. The pious labors of his son had anticipated much of the contents of the volumes before; and furnished many things, which will not be found in their pages. And to procure a perfect knowledge of his biography, recourse must be had to the writings of Oviedo, Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Herrera, and Muñoz, and to several books published in Italy, as well as to Señor Navarrete's Collection. Still, as our readers will have perceived, it contains many curious and original documents, indispensably necessary to the full understanding of Columbus' history.

Ere we quit the subject, it is due to historic truth, it is due to the memory of Columbus, it is due to the sensibility of the successive ages, which have cried shame on his wrongs and sufferings, to protest against the attempt, which Señor Navarrete makes, to divert the indignation of posterity from the selfish conduct of Ferdinand. It is much to be lamented that so many of the most important facts in history should be capable of being obscured or discolored by the arts of interested sophistry. Apparently there is no limit to the excursiveness of ingenuity, or the scepticism of historical inquiry. In these times of jealous scrutiny into the opinions of our predecessors, we are told, and it may be rightly, to doubt, nay to disbelieve, the glorious lessons of heroism and patriotic devotion, which signalized the annals of ancient Rome, and inspired our schoolboy musings with enthusiasm. We relinquish our hold on these pleasing illusions, with an unwillingness like that with which we awake from slumber, filled with the enchanting creations of grateful fancy, to the dull realities of life. But what shall we say of those harder speculators in the page of history, who labor to gloss over the infirmities of tyranny; who seek to palliate the criminal enormities of power with all the artificial address of an advocate; who outrage the settled convictions of mankind, by making the worse to seem the better cause? Of this kind was the attempt of a noble writer of the last century to purify the reputation of Richard the Third, and persuade us that he was neither usurper nor murderer. More strange still is the recent elaborate attack of Mitford upon all that is high, and admirable,

and splendid in ancient Greece; who fain would deny that Aristides was just or Demosthenes eloquent, but can readily believe that Philip of Macedon was unambitious, honest, upright, a lover of liberty, and driven, against his will, to sequester the privileges of all the Greeks, out of disinterested regard for their welfare. Akin to these two quixotic enterprises, in our estimation, is the attempted vindication of king Ferdinand from the charge of injustice towards Columbus. We are equally disposed to think Ferdinand just, and to esteem Richard and Philip as truehearted patriots. And as Señor Navarrete makes a show of proving the Spanish king to deserve better of the public opinion, we will shortly examine the arguments, by which he strives to turn aside the current of universal tradition and authority upon this point.

Columbus entered the Spanish service in 1486, and continued in it for twenty years, until his decease in 1506. Of this period, six years were employed in solicitations to be sent to the Indies; the twelve succeeding were occupied in his voyages of discovery; and for the residue, he was a humble suppliant in Spain, awaiting justice to redress, or death to terminate his sufferings. His treatment during this whole period was such as to give his biographers occasion to declare that Spain did no more than to yield tardy assistance to the great undertaking, and afterwards to persecute him who had replenished her provinces with wealth. But, if Señor Navarrete is to be credited, he was treated throughout this time with generosity, nay, with most princely munificence.

What are the proofs alleged in regard to the years preceding his first voyage? Why, forsooth, the future discoverer of worlds was graciously permitted to glean a scanty subsistence by selling charts in the seaports of Andalusia; he was uniformly befriended, with the truest constancy and affection by Don Diego de Deza, afterwards archbishop of Seville; he was protected two years by the duke of Medinaceli; more than this, he was actually preserved from starvation by Juan Perez, the prior of Rabida, and the alms of his religious house. But where, in the mean time, was the bounty of his kindhearted and liberal king? Did Ferdinand ever lend a candid ear to the representations of Columbus, or hospitably entertain him in the extremity of his want? No; the loyal Navarrete has ransacked every record in Spain, from the royal repositories of Simancas and the Escorial to the more humble

collections of his literary friends ; and no vestige remains of the patronage of the government at this period, but a *simple passport* granted him in 1489. It is addressed to 'councils, justices, regidores, knights, esquires, officials, and good men of whatsoever cities, towns, and places,' setting forth that Cristobal Colomo was to come to the court on public service, and ordering them to give him good lodgings 'without money, *he paying for his provisions, &c. at the current price with his money*' (Tom. II. p. 6.) ; and this Señor Navarrete would magnify into a mighty favor. Such a document proves nothing but the ill-regulated and disorderly state of the kingdom, where it was necessary for a stranger's protection. And in truth, so far was Columbus from being well received, that his proposal was long ridiculed as visionary and extravagant, and he treated as an idle schemer. Nor did Isabella engage in his plans until she found that a subject was about to defray the charge and reap the benefit of an expedition whose magnitude and interest deserved the countenance of kings alone ; and then it was that she stepped in, and gave him a petty armament, hardly suited to creep along the shore to the Canaries or Cape de Verd.

But to be candid, we do not esteem it anywise extraordinary that the Spanish government was slow to appreciate the merits of Columbus. He, a necessitous Genoese pilot, advanced doctrines in geography adverse to all the received opinions of his contemporaries. Neither the quality of the individual nor the nature of his object, was calculated to produce a ready impression upon the Spanish people. To have realized immediately the important consequences of his system, and to have acted promptly in obedience thereto, would, indeed, have redounded to the everlasting honor of Isabella and Ferdinand, by showing them to have been above the vulgar prejudices of their age and country. But this they did not do. On the contrary, they tardily and reluctantly granted him an humble equipment for his noble enterprise. They acted like common persons, in the ordinary level of mediocrity in understanding, and of narrowmindedness in policy. Thus far, if they are obnoxious to no censure, they are certainly in like degree undeserving of applause.

Señor Navarrete next proceeds to recount the honors lavished upon Columbus and his family, when he returned to Spain with the brilliant news of his discoveries. It is superfluous to contend with him on this point. The Spanish princes

were carried away by the popular torrent of admiration and astonishment. They fancied the golden realms 'of Ormus and of Ind' to be now spread out before them, accessible, unoccupied, fascinating the imagination with gorgeous dreams of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' and welcoming the footprint of the conqueror. In the warmth of their enthusiasm, they gave to Columbus, the heroic navigator, who had unveiled these splendid regions to their sight, a reception which wore the aspect of a triumph. But after all, they did him no more than mere justice. A successful general, who had gained a few battles in Europe, would have speedily outstripped Columbus in favor and honors, and in the affections of his master. Indeed the gratuities, the unbought gifts either of privilege or power, bestowed upon the Admiral, were of really trifling magnitude. The government of the Indies, the title and authority of viceroy, the right to a certain share of revenue,—all these were his by solemn treaty, by express compact, deliberately stipulated as the consideration of his undertaking the discoveries in the Spanish service; they were the pay secured to him by contract, the price of his talents and skill, bargained for and promised before his departure. But we cannot suffer Ferdinand's apologist to arrogate to him any praise for simple justice, and for justice displayed upon parchment only. Although these rewards were actually earned and righteously due, although confirmed to him in 1493 and again in 1497, by charters of the highest obligation, yet in spite of his rank, services, character, age, and legal rights, we find him in 1499, forcibly deposed from his authority, despoiled even of his private effects, dragged on shipboard and sent in chains to Spain, unhonored by the bare formality of a judicial investigation; and at last suffered to die in penury and despair, without ever being restored to his rightful command in the Indies. Posterity have agreed to consider this a hard measure to be dealt out to such a man as Columbus, whose achievements were unexampled, and whose offence, if offence he committed ever, remains undisclosed to the present day.

In his zeal to vindicate the character of a Spanish king, Señor Navarrete seems to have lost sight of the truly monstrous injuries, which Columbus was doomed to suffer. He ostentatiously recounts the various honors bestowed on him, but omits to contrast therewith the indignities, by which they were again and again outweighed. Columbus returned from his second

voyage in 1496 ; and was compelled by the intrigues of Don Juan de Fonseca to wait in attendance two whole years, before he could obtain another armament. Could the bishop of Badajoz have indulged his enmity so openly and grossly, had he not been encouraged by Ferdinand's injustice, equally gross and open ? During the Admiral's residence in Hispaniola, upon this third expedition, the colony became overflowed with the scum of Spain, the mere offal of the galleys and gaols, men of desperate fortunes and turbulent spirits, who threw the whole island into confusion by their unbridled licentiousness. Columbus saw that the very existence of the colony was at stake. With admirable firmness, conduct, and address, he quelled the dissolute crew which surrounded him, and preserved the settlement from destruction. But in the mean time many of these abandoned men, pardoned convicts, who had gone to the Indies inflamed with avarice, and expecting to revel in riches, came home disappointed and enraged against the Admiral, for attempting to hold them in obedience to the laws. Order they denounced as tyranny ; and their Spanish pride could not brook submission to the commands of an untitled alien. Their false accusation obtained a ready credence from Ferdinand, who despatched Bobadilla to the Indies to supersede Columbus. This misguided instrument of power arrived in the colony just at the moment when perfect tranquillity was restored, and all the original pretence for his interposition had ceased to exist. Strange to relate, he bore letters from the king, *signed in blank*, for him to fill up at pleasure ; and he did not spare to exert the unlimited, unqualified discretion which his instructions imparted. The very second day after his landing, without even so much as giving Columbus the slightest intimation of his arrival or of his commission, he ordered him and his two brothers to be seized and transported to Spain in irons. Columbus solemnly declared to his friends, when he returned to Spain, loaded with chains, that he had never been apprized, nor could he then conceive, for what offence he was apprehended.* It is ample proof of the enormity of these proceedings, that Bobadilla took possession of all the Admiral's papers, and appropriated his money, house, and other private property to his own use.

* 'Ni le fablé mas á el ni consintió que hasta hoy nadie me haya hablado, y *fago juramento que no puedo pensar por qué sea yo preso.*' Carta del Almirante al Ama del Príncipe D. Juan.—Navarrete, Tom. I. p. 272, and Spotorno, p. 312.

Señor Navarrete asserts and would have us believe that all this extravagant wickedness of conduct emanated from the unauthorized madness of Bobadilla alone; and yet in the same breath undertakes to insinuate that there were concealed causes to justify such harshness. The assertion and the insinuation are alike utterly groundless. As to the latter, it is impossible to credit the suspicion, that the Admiral's supposed offences were stifled, out of delicacy towards him. Wonderful delicacy, to seize the governor of a colony and to put him in irons, without even the name of a trial! There is no foundation whatsoever for the idea, except a single obscure expression of Oviedo's.* And how could that remain concealed to this day, which hundreds of Spanish emigrants were eager to publish in the most aggravated shape, and of course all Spaniards must have understood? During these troubles, a crowd of fifty persons, on one occasion, surrounded Ferdinand in the square of the Alhambra at Granada, clamoring for vengeance on Columbus. Would they make a secret of his alleged crimes? On the contrary, they would promptly and loudly sound them abroad into every corner of the country. Rigor, injustice, and ambition,—these were the offences of which he was accused. But the plain, unvarnished truth is, that the profligate wretches who flocked to the New World at that period, partly to plunder its pacific inhabitants, and partly to escape condign punishment for their crimes at home, were outrageous to find the colony governed by a man, who felt no sympathy with their vices, who would not wink at their misconduct, who preferred the permanent good of the settlement to the gratification of their cruelty and avarice, whose manners were simple, temper austere, discipline exact, and who was a foreigner elevated by his virtues from humble condition to be a Spanish cavalier and viceroy of the Indies.

And the assertion that Bobadilla exceeded his authority is equally untenable. It is a familiar expedient of tyrants to disclaim the acts of their subordinate agents, and sacrifice the obsequious tools of their injustice, to appease the indignation it has aroused. So it fared with Bobadilla, selected by the king to depose Columbus, and disavowed and punished for his compliance when the deed was done. Assuredly, he never would have attempted, or attempting never would have been suffered,

* *Historia Gen. de las Indias*, l. 3. c. 6.

to send home a Spanish admiral and viceroy in chains, without ample warrant for so violent a stretch of authority. We feel confident that no candid person, who attentively considers the tenor of Bobadilla's published instructions,* can resist the conviction that he had other and private directions which he precisely followed to the letter. He bore two commissions; one, as *juez pesquisidor*, giving him general power to examine into the causes of the disturbances in Hispaniola, and apply justice according to his discretion, similar to that afterwards granted to the famous Vaca de Castro, and exercised by him so admirably in settling the disputes between the first conquerors of Peru; and another, as governor. The authority delegated to him by these commissions was as arbitrary and despotic as language could bestow. What is very remarkable, although the deposition of Columbus was *professedly* the object of his mission, yet the Admiral was aimed at in terms guardedly general and indirect. Take this clause for example; 'Informations being taken, and the truth ascertained, *you will seize the bodies* of those whom you find guilty, *and sequester their goods.*' And again; 'If he shall deem it proper for our service and the execution of our justice, that *any cavaliers* and other persons, of those who are now or hereafter shall be in said islands and mainland, *should quit the same*, and not enter nor continue therein, and that they should come and be present before us, he may command it on our part, and *compel them to quit.*' No explanatory letter was despatched to Columbus from the king; but he was peremptorily commanded to deliver up all the fortified places, and this without the usual intervention of a king's messenger as required by the laws; and received orders to submit himself to Bobadilla in this extraordinary letter of credence;

'The King and the Queen: D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean: We have commanded the Comendador Francisco de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, to speak to you, on our part, of certain things which he will mention: we desire you to give him faith and credence, and to comply therewith. Madrid, May twentysixth, the year ninety-nine.—I the King.—I the Queen.—By command.—Miguel Perez de Almazan.'

We have translated this memorable document *verbatim*, to prove how cruelly every form of decency was violated, in the

* Printed in Navarrete's Col. Dip. nos. 127-130. Tom II. pp. 235-240.

manner of removing Columbus, and to prove that Bobadilla had secret instructions, for the direction of his movements; in confirmation of which is the fact before stated, that he possessed letters in blank with the royal sign manual, to be employed according to his discretion.

We feel perfectly satisfied, therefore, that Ferdinand is justly responsible to posterity for the acts of Bobadilla. For even suppose the latter to have conducted something more harshly than his master intended; what then? Ferdinand is equally censurable; because he should not have delegated such excessive power, and subjected the great Columbus to the tyrannical caprice of a petty official, drunk 'with a little brief authority.' And although Ferdinand made much ostentation of compassion for Columbus on his return, and promised to redress his wrongs, yet it was all mere hollow profession. For not only was the rightful proprietor never again restored to his government; but when, wearied out with fruitlessly soliciting for justice, he set sail on his fourth voyage, he was forbidden to touch at Hispaniola, except on his homeward passage, and in case of necessity. We refrain from recounting his sufferings in that expedition. A prominent place among them is occupied by the barbarous neglect of Ovando, who basely compelled him to remain for eight months on the island of Jamaica, where he was shipwrecked, and well nigh perished with famine. His death, it is undeniable, was hastened by the shameful treatment of his king after the conclusion of this voyage. Señor Navarrete boasts that his privileges and honors were, nevertheless, restored to his family in the person of his son, Diego; but under what circumstances were they restored? Diego sued to the king for the space of two years in vain. At length he commenced an action against Ferdinand before one of his own tribunals, and succeeded in obtaining judgment against the king; and then, with the aid of the powerful family of Toledo, exacted by interest and by compulsion, what he never would have gained from Ferdinand's sense of justice. We regret that Señor Navarrete should bring imputations upon his own candor and discrimination, by undertaking the desperate task of justifying or extenuating ingratitude so profligate as that of Ferdinand towards Columbus.

ART. II.—*Rough Notes taken during some rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes.* By Captain F. B. HEAD. 12mo. pp. 264. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

AMONG the results, which have already grown out of the revolutions in South America, the mining speculations and enterprises hold a place not the least conspicuous. The thirst for gold, and the glowing visions of treasures buried in the mountains of the New World, which impelled the Spaniards to their original conquests and discoveries, are again revived, and made the efficient springs of hazard and adventure. New regions are explored, and new El Dorados sought after. By a happy issue of events, however, there has been a great change in the motives and means of searching for mineral treasures. The first acts of the Spaniards were bloody and cruel; their subsequent oppressions were an outrage equally upon humanity, justice, and freedom. Gold was coveted to pamper the pride and luxury of a few, to give splendor to the pageantry of the monarch, and consequence to a haughty nobility. The world has profited little by the gains of Spain from her colonies, and the nation itself has been ruined by the excess of its ill gotten treasure. Gold has done for degraded Spain what the arms of the foe could never do, and from the influence of this cause more than all others, she now finds herself at the bottom of the scale of nations, dragged along at the very heels of the improvements of the present age, the derision of enlightened men, and the pity of those, in all parts of Europe, who are still struggling to smother the lights of liberty and intelligence, and to support the falling fabric of legitimacy.

But very different ends are now proposed, and different means pursued, in disinterring the precious metals. The chains of slavery are broken, free governments established, and the mining operations thrown open to individual enterprise, and protected as an important branch of national industry. With these encouragements, companies have been formed, both in Europe and America, for working the mines of the southern republics. Various success will attend their efforts, but the results on the whole cannot fail to be exceedingly beneficial, not only to these republics themselves, but to the whole world. The metals thus brought to light will be immediately put into direct and speedy channels of commerce, and

will give an impulse to trade, and secure a confidence, which could only be derived from a substantial currency. In this respect it is of no consequence whose capital, or whose labor, is employed in digging up and coining the precious metals; the great purpose is attained when these are actually put in circulation. Hence the general advantage will be the same, whether the mines are wrought by foreign companies, individuals, or the governments in whose territories they are found. It should be the policy of these governments, indeed, to put the mines into such hands, or, which is the same thing, to afford encouragements that will naturally bring them into such hands, as can apply to the working of them the greatest amount of capital. Thus far this policy has been in the main adhered to by the larger portion of the republics, although some symptoms of jealousy and ignorance have occasionally been manifested. A party in the Mexican congress had a project for imposing a heavy tax on the exportation of silver, but a majority was opposed to it. Such a scheme would be extremely unwise, inasmuch as the tax would fall on those engaged in working the mines, and in many cases increase the expense so much, as to render it impossible to carry on the work without loss. It is plainly the interest of all the new republics to give every facility to this branch of industry, for it is one which in the shortest time will communicate life, energy, and effect to all the other branches.

That there will be many dreams and wild speculations, disappointed hopes, and ruinous undertakings in this business of mining, is to be expected. There is sufficient uncertainty connected with the subject, and yet sufficient promise of bright things in prospect, to inflame adventurous minds, and take the imagination captive. Many will be amused with the beautiful castles they build in the air, and be led away by the delusions of their own fancy. This has always been the case in mining operations, and among those who have followed this profession, it is probable that ten have been ruined, to one who has been made rich. In this pursuit, however, as in every other, there is security in caution; failure has commonly sprung from desperate hazard, or has followed unwarranted expectation. Companies are as likely to be misled in this way as individuals, and it may be safely calculated, that some of those, which have engaged with eagerness recently in the mining schemes of South America, will have their anticipations but imperfectly realized.

It was as the agent of a mining company that Captain Head made his tour in La Plata and Chile, and in his Introduction he draws rather a discouraging picture of the South American mining associations in England. Great mistakes have been committed by precipitancy, and especially by setting companies on foot, and taking measures for carrying their objects into effect, without any knowledge of the country in which the mine was situated, or of local circumstances. Ignorance, and a rage for speculation, two very blind guides at all times, have been the causes of much mischief in forming these companies, by raising false hopes, and deluding people into the folly of becoming share holders. Determined to guard against the rock on which many had been wrecked, an association for working the gold and silver mines in the provinces of La Plata, despatched Captain Head to that country with instructions to examine the mines, and gain all the requisite knowledge for commencing operations upon them to advantage. His *Rough Notes* were drawn up during this tour. They consist of a broken narrative of events, loose hints, remarks, and observations, thrown together without regard to method, or settled design. They are written in a hurried, unpolished style, but with a good deal of animation, and occasionally with a graphic power of description, not often attained by the higher and practised order of writers. He pretends to nothing more than he accomplishes, and every reader may draw entertainment and instruction from his book. Its chief fault is a tinge of exaggeration, arising not so much from any purpose of the author, as apparently from the natural tendency of his mind to perceive new objects through a magnifying medium. He is not one of your querulous, grumbling travellers, meeting with shocking accidents and perilous adventures every post, starving at every meal, and bit or stung to death by ravenous, unmannerly vermin every night; he experiences enough of these calamities to give due interest to his narrative, but he bears them patiently, and talks of them like a man of courage and sober resolution.

As to the success of his expedition, we are left somewhat in the dark. He visited mines without number, both of gold and silver, in the plains of La Plata, among the Andes, and in Chile, and, as he says, 'went to the bottom of them all,' but it does not appear that he reported favorably of any to his employers. He has devoted a chapter to the enumeration of

difficulties to be encountered by an English association, in working mines in the provinces of Rio de La Plata, and he arranges them under the three formidable divisions of physical, moral, political. The ardor of speculation must be unusually great, that would not be damped by the list of obstacles under each of these divisions.

The author assures us, moreover, that there are 'all sorts of English speculations in South America,' and that mining companies are not the only ones that fail. 'Besides many brother companies,' he says, 'which I met with at Buenos Aires, I found a sister association of milkmaids.' Some acute observer of the manners of nations, it seems had made the discovery, that the inhabitants of Buenos Aires and the neighboring provinces had no butter, notwithstanding the vast number of excellent cows, and the abundance of pasturage. It was forthwith determined, that a butter company, or, as our author terms it, a churning company, to manufacture and supply an article of so necessary use, would be an admirable enterprise. The company was formed without delay, and in a few months a cargo of Scotch milkmaids was landed at Buenos Aires, in complete readiness to commence operations. But here they were met with serious and unexpected obstacles at the very threshold. 'The difficulties which they experienced were very great; instead of leaning their heads against patient domestic animals, they were introduced to a set of lawless wild creatures, which looked so fierce that no young woman, who ever sat upon a three legged stool, would dare to approach, much less to milk them. But the Gauchos attacked the cows, tied their legs with strips of hide, and as soon as they became quiet, the shops of Buenos Aires were literally full of butter.' This was only a prelude to the disasters that followed. After all the difficulties of milking and churning had been conquered, 'it was discovered, first, that the butter would not keep; and secondly, that somehow or other, the Gauchos and natives of Buenos Aires liked oil better!' Thus vanished the bright hopes of the company, and the milkmaids were glad to return to their native Caledonian hills.

Captain Head's journey extended from Buenos Aires across the great plains called the Pampas, to Mendoza, and thence over the Andes to Santiago in Chile. The distance from Buenos Aires to Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes, is about nine hundred miles, and the whole distance to Santiago is

thirteen hundred and sixtyfive. This route may be travelled by a courier in twelve days, being more than a hundred miles a day on an average. There are post houses throughout the whole line, and relays of horses across the Pampas. The Andes are commonly passed on mules. In our further remarks we shall consult, in addition to Captain Head's book, the manuscript Journal of Colonel William G. D. Worthington, who travelled over the same ground nine years ago, as special agent from the government of the United States to Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru, and with the perusal of whose papers we have been favored. We shall also select some interesting particulars from a paper now before us, being the manuscript of a gentleman who has resided several years in Chile, and to whose pen the public has already been indebted for valuable and curious information respecting that country. We are happy to acknowledge our obligations to these authentic and highly respectable sources. It is not our purpose, however, to present our readers with anything more, on the present occasion, than a few desultory remarks, communicating general facts in some degree illustrative of the habits, manners, and character of the people.

We have heretofore promised more than we have been able to perform, in regard to the South American republics. We hoped to have it in our power to draw up, from time to time, something like a connected history of the revolutions and recent changes in those countries, but we have hitherto found this impossible. Although we have sought materials from every quarter, and been successful in collecting them, yet they are for the most part unsatisfactory, and very imperfectly suited to historical purposes. There are as yet almost no books written in South America; the newspapers are meagre, referring rarely to the events of history; and the reports of the public officers to the congresses, which are important documents in themselves, are confined to the passing incidents and circumstances of the year. There was so little printing in the Spanish provinces during the first years of the revolution, that very few facts were recorded, and a full and accurate history must depend for many of its details on the recollection of living witnesses. Such a history of the revolution in Colombia has been written by Mr Restrepo, and it is hoped will shortly come before the public. When the same shall be done in the other republics, by men of equal eminence and qualifications, we

shall have all that is desired, and not before. Meantime, we think the concerns of South America so important in connexion with our own country, that we shall not fail to give them the full share of attention which they may justly claim in a work like ours, designed for various ends, and for none more, than the advancement of our national honor and dignity, and the defence of liberty and free institutions in whatever clime they may appear.

The great plain of the Pampas, over which Captain Head travelled, reaches from Buenos Aires to the Andes, covering a space of about nine hundred miles. This plain is intersected with rivers and streams, which have their sources among the perpetual snows of the Andes, and empty themselves into lakes in the interior, or find their way into the ocean through the great rivers Paraná and Rio de La Plata. The regions of the Pampas are inhabited by a scattered population of wild and warlike Indians in the south, and of Gauchos, a people of Spanish descent, in the middle and north. These plains are fertile, and, under good agricultural management, might support a dense population. They afford luxuriant pasturage and abound in cattle and horses, the former of which afford the natives their principal food, and the latter they ride on all occasions. Our author divides the Pampas into what he calls the regions of clover and thistles, long grass, and low trees and shrubs. The clover and thistles commence at Buenos Aires and extend one hundred and eighty miles; then succeeds the long grass, which prevails four hundred and fifty miles further; and last of all the trees and shrubs, which reach to the base of the Andes. As these shrubs are evergreens, their appearance is hardly changed with the seasons, and the long grass only turns its color from green to brown; but the clover and thistle country puts on a new aspect several times in a year, as crops of each spring up successively from a rich soil, grow to maturity, wither, and decay.

There are two modes of travelling across the Pampas, one in carriages of a strong heavy construction, and the other on horseback. A carriage is taken at Buenos Aires for the whole route, and relays of horses are obtained on the way at post houses kept for the purpose by the Gauchos. These horses are commonly wild and restiff, but six or eight of them are attached to the carriage, and each one is ridden by a peon with enormous spurs, goading the sides of the poor animal. They

are thus all hurried forward at a quick gallop, and the traveller is carried rapidly along from Buenos Aires to Mendoza. The post houses are usually at a suitable distance for exchanging, but in some instances they are thirty, and even fifty miles apart. In these cases, the Gauchos accompany the carriage with a drove of horses, which are often changed on the way. Captain Head considers the mode of travelling on horseback much the more independent and expeditious, where the traveller has strength to endure the fatigue. Horses are obtained at the post houses in the same way as for carriages, and a Gaucho goes from one post house to another as a guide.

The Gauchos have some peculiar traits of character. They are described by the author as a people much attached to their native soil, seldom wandering far from the hut in which they were born, and in which their fathers had been born; hospitable and highminded, possessing few wants, cheerful, and contented, their food is of the simplest kind, consisting chiefly of beef and water, and their habitations are little better than such as are seen in the first stages of civilization. They are huts built of mud, and thatched with long yellow grass. The following description, from the pen of the author, will let the reader a little into the internal economy of one of these tenements.

‘In winter the people sleep in the hut, and the scene is a very singular one. As soon as the traveller’s supper is ready, the great iron spit on which the beef has been roasted, is brought into the hut, and the point is stuck into the ground. The Gaucho then offers his guest the skeleton of a horse’s head, and he and several of the family on similar seats, sit round the spit, from which with their long knives, they cut very large mouthfuls. The hut is lighted by a feeble lamp made of bullock’s tallow, and it is warmed by a fire of charcoal. On the walls of the hut are hung upon bones two or three bridles and spurs, and several lasos and balls. On the ground are several dark looking heaps, which one can never clearly distinguish; on sitting down upon these when tired, I have often heard a child scream underneath me, and have occasionally been mildly asked by a young woman what I wanted. At other times up has jumped an immense dog. While I was once warming my hands at the fire of charcoal, seated on a horse’s head, looking at the black roof in a reverie, and fancying I was quite by myself, I felt something touch me, and saw two naked black children leaning over the charcoal in the attitude of two toads; they had crept out from under some of the ponchos; and

I afterwards found that many other persons, as well as some hens sitting upon eggs, were also in the hut. In sleeping in these huts the cock has often hopped upon my back to crow in the morning; however, as soon as it is daylight everybody gets up.'

p. 26.

Notwithstanding their isolated, independent, half civilized condition, the Gauchos are beginning to be politicians. Captain Head held a conversation on political subjects with one of his guides, who was very curious in his inquiries about the government of Mendoza, and the troops that had been raised in that province to reinstate the governor of San Juan, in which province the guide lived, and where the people had lately deposed the governor. The Gaucho was very indignant, that the Mendozans should interfere in the business, and said the inhabitants of San Juan could manage their own affairs, and elect their own governor.

The principal towns between Buenos Aires and Santiago are San Luis in the Pampas, and Mendoza near the foot of the Andes, each containing from eight to twelve thousand inhabitants. These are centres, from which a political influence will emanate and gradually extend itself over the neighboring regions. San Luis was the place where the royalist prisoners were sent from Buenos Aires and Chile in the first years of the revolution, and reports are current of tragic scenes witnessed there, which reflect no credit on the humanity or honor of the party engaged in them.

The regions of the Pampas are uncommonly salubrious, particularly the parts towards Mendoza. The soil is here strongly impregnated with saltpetre, and a crystalline clearness prevails in the atmosphere unknown in almost every other part of the world. Animal putrefaction seldom takes place, and the dead bodies of horses and cattle are often seen dried up, and very little changed from their appearance when alive. So extremely transparent is the atmosphere, that from the Sierra del Moro at sunrise Colonel Worthington saw the Tupungato, a high peak of the Andes, at the distance of three hundred and twelve miles. He saw the same again at San Luis about sunset, at the distance of two hundred and forty miles. In the morning its appearance was white, in the evening blue. We may here mention a funeral ceremony, which came under Colonel Worthington's observation in the Pampas. A child one or two years old had died, and the people gathered around it in the

evening to perform its funeral rites. The body was laid on a table very gaudily dressed ; the palms of the hands were brought together on the breast, with the fingers pointing upwards, and the thumbs tied with a pink ribbon. Four candles were placed on the table, one at each corner. The company assembled with laughing, and talking, and much good humor, till at length one of the party struck up a tune on the guitar. They all fell to dancing, which they continued till daylight, when they dispersed.

Captain Head visited the gold mines of La Carolina in the Pampas, where he was astonished to find, that the people would not take gold as a currency. He wished to purchase gold dust, and offered gold coins, but they refused to take them, even at half their value, and said they were good for nothing. They would take silver only, and the landlord with whom the travellers lodged demanded payment in this metal. Offering gold at La Carolina was literally verifying the proverb of carrying coals to Newcastle. The Indians, who offer skins and ostrich feathers in the market of Mendoza, will not sell them for money, which they say is of no value, and can do them no good ; they will barter their articles for knives, spurs, sugar, or whatever else they want. Nor will they purchase by weight ; they must have ocular demonstration of quantity, and when they bargain for sugar, they mark on a hide the space which they expect to be covered. If our North American Indians had a little more of this wisdom of their Pampas brethren, they would be less frequently cheated than they have been by those, who boast of being illumined by the lights of civilization.

At Mendoza our author prepared for a passage across the Andes. Carriages proceed no further, and a caravan of sixteen mules was engaged to take himself and party over the mountains. On his way up the Cordillera he visited the warm baths of Villa Vicencia, and the mines of Uspallata. In ascending the Andes very little occurred worthy of observation, except in passing the *laderas*, of which all travellers speak so much. The road is along the north bank of the river Mendoza, which flows with great rapidity down a deep valley, almost from the top of the mountain. For the most part there is a sufficient width of level ground between the margin of the river and the base of the steep acclivities for a convenient road, but in some instances spurs of the mountain project so abruptly upon the stream, as to leave no room for a passage. It is then

necessary to wind along the side of the precipice, which thus intervenes, by a very narrow path, sometimes less than two feet in width, affording barely room for a mule to pass with its burden. On the left the Mendoza is foaming below with great fury, and on the right the mountain ascends almost perpendicularly till it is lost in the clouds. The path is sometimes five hundred feet, and in one instance seven hundred, above the river, and the slightest accident would precipitate the mule and its rider to the bottom. So steep is the slope, and so near does the hill approach on the right, that the traveller can touch it with his hand and frequently with his shoulder. So cautious is the mule in passing these *laderas*, so deliberate in feeling his way over loose stones, and so entirely free from any sensation of giddiness or embarrassment, arising from the great elevation and the sight of the yawning abyss beneath, that any accident to a traveller, who sits quietly on his mule, is a very rare thing. He is much more safe than he would be on foot. But baggage mules are often precipitated from the path, by reason of their load striking against the side of the mountain, and thus pushing them from their narrow foothold. A little experience teaches them to guard against any serious accident from this cause, by walking on the very verge of the pathway. Travellers are apt to be alarmed at this propensity of the mule, and at finding themselves hanging on the brink of the precipice; but there is no danger if the mule is allowed to pursue his course, and trust to his own discretion. The following description by Captain Head, of his passage of the *Ladera de las Vacas*, presents a vivid picture of the scenes he witnessed.

‘As soon as we crossed the pass, which is only seventy yards long, the capataz told me, that it was a very bad place for baggage mules, that four hundred had been lost there, and that we should also very probably lose one. He said that he would get down to the water at a place about a hundred yards off, and wait there with his *lazo* to catch any mule that might fall into the torrent; and he requested me to lead on his mule. However, I was resolved to see the tumble if there was to be one, so the capataz took away my mule and his own, and while I stood on a projecting rock at the end of the pass, he scrambled down on foot, till he at last got to the level of the water.

‘The drove of mules now came in sight, one following another; a few were carrying no burdens, but the rest were either mounted or heavily laden, and as they wound along the crooked path, the difference of color in the animals, the different colors and shapes

of the baggage they were carrying, with the picturesque dress of the peons, who were vociferating the wild song by which they drive on the mules, and the sight of the dangerous path they had to cross, formed altogether a very interesting scene.

‘As soon as the leading mule came to the commencement of the pass he stopped, evidently unwilling to proceed, and of course all the rest stopped also.

‘He was the finest mule we had, and on that account had twice as much to carry as any of the others; his load had never been relieved, and it consisted of four portmanteaus, two of which belonged to me, and which contained not only a very heavy bag of dollars, but also papers which were of such consequence, that I could hardly have continued my journey without them. The peons now redoubled their cries, and leaning over the sides of their mules, and picking up stones, they threw them at the leading mule, who now commenced his journey over the path. With his nose to the ground, literally smelling the way, he walked gently on, often changing the position of his feet, if he found the ground would not bear, until he came to the bad part of the pass, where he again stopped, and I then certainly began to look with great anxiety at my portmanteaus; but the peons again threw stones at him, and he continued his path, and reached me in safety; several others followed. At last a young mule, carrying a portmanteau with two large sacks of provisions, and many other things, in passing the bad point, struck his load against the rock, which knocked his two hind legs over the precipice, and the loose stones immediately began to roll away from under them; however his fore legs were still upon the narrow path; he had no room to put his head there, but he placed his nose on the path on his left, and appeared to hold on by his mouth. His perilous fate was soon decided by a loose mule which came, and in walking along after him knocked his comrade’s nose off the path, destroyed his balance, and head over heels the poor creature instantly commenced a fall, which was really quite terrific. With all his baggage firmly lashed to him, he rolled down the steep slope, until he came to the part which was perpendicular, and then he seemed to bound off, and turning round in the air, fell into the deep torrent on his back, and upon his baggage, and instantly disappeared. I thought of course that he was killed, but up he rose, looking wild and scared, and immediately endeavored to stem the torrent which was foaming about him. It was a noble effort, and for a moment he seemed to succeed, but the eddy suddenly caught the great load on his back, and turned him completely over; down went his head with all the baggage, and as he was carried down the stream all I saw were his hind quarters, and his long, thin, wet

tail, lashing the water. As suddenly, however, up his head came again ; but he was now weak and went down the stream, turned round and round by the eddy, until passing the corner of the rock, I lost sight of him. I saw, however, the peons with their lasos in their hands run down the side of the torrent for some little distance ; but they soon stopped, and after looking towards the poor mule for some seconds, their earnest attitude gradually relaxed, and when they walked towards me I concluded that all was over. I walked up to the peons, and was just going to speak to them, when I saw at a distance a solitary mule walking towards us. We instantly perceived that he was the Phaeton, whose fall we had just witnessed, and in a few moments he came up to us to join his comrades.' pp. 136—140.

These *laderas* vary in length from sixty to a hundred and fifty yards. Captain Riley, in the romance of his capture in Africa, mentions a similar pass, but more terrific if possible, on the sea shore between Mogadore and the great desert.

Our author encountered few other difficulties, till he found himself in the spacious city of Santiago. He soon ascended to the region of snow, although it was only two days since he had escaped the burning heats of Mendoza ; and he relates some affecting anecdotes of the fate of travellers, who have attempted to cross the Andes in the winter. A furious wind, like a hurricane, frequently comes up of a sudden, and drives the snow before it in such masses, as to suffocate the traveller, and bury him alive. Small huts of brick have been built in the snowy region, on the summit of the Andes, to afford travellers a temporary shelter, but persons have been shut up in them by the snow, and died there of cold and hunger, as no fuel nor food could be obtained. In the summer season there is no danger from this source, although the travelling across the snow is not represented as the most agreeable. The time taken up in crossing the mountains with good success is from four to six days. Colonel Worthington passed from Mendoza to Villa de los Andes, a village in Chile at the foot of the Andes, in a little more than four days, and returned through the same distance in four days and a half.

Arrived in Santiago our author is in great haste to be among the mines of Chile. Many of these he visited, but we shall accompany him to one only, and that is the silver mine of San Pedro Nolasco, which is high up the Andes, about seventy-five miles southwest of Santiago. After giving an account of his perilous journey to this spot, he speaks of the situation, and the mine itself.

‘Although it was midsummer,’ he says, ‘the snow where we stood was, according to the statement made to me by the agent of the mine, from twenty to a hundred and twenty feet deep, but blown by the wind into the most irregular forms, while in some places the black rock was visible. Beneath was the river and valley of Maypo, fed by a number of tributary streams, which we could see descending like small silver threads down the different ravines. We appeared to have a bird’s-eye view of the great chain of the Andes, and we looked down upon a series of pinnacles of indescribable shapes and forms, all covered with eternal snow. The whole scene around us in every direction was devoid of vegetation, and was a picture of desolation, on a scale of magnificence which made it peculiarly awful; and the knowledge that this vast mass of snow, so cheerless in appearance, was created for the use, and comfort, and happiness, and even luxury of man, that it was the inexhaustible reservoir from which the plains were supplied with water, made us feel that there is no spot in creation, which man should term barren, though there are many which nature never intended for his residence. A large cloud of smoke was issuing from one of the pinnacles, which is the great volcano of San Francisco; and the silver lode, which was before us, seemed to run into the centre of the crater.

‘As it was in the middle of the summer, I could not help reflecting what a dreadful abode this must be in the winter, and I inquired of our guide and the miners concerning its climate in that season. They at first silently pointed to the crosses, which, in groups of three and two and four, were to be seen in every direction; and they then told me, that although the mine is inaccessible for seven months in winter, yet that the miners used to be kept there all the year. They said that the cold was intense, but that what the miners most dreaded were the merciless *temporales*, or storms of snow, which came on so suddenly that many miners had been overtaken by them, and had perished when not a hundred and fifty yards from the hut. With these monuments before my eyes, it was really painful to consider what the feelings of those wretched creatures must have been, when, groping about for their habitation, they found the violence of the storm unabating and irresistible. It was really melancholy to trace, or fancy I could trace, by the different groups of crosses, the fate of the different individuals. Friends had huddled together and had thus died on the road; others had strayed from the path, and from the scattered crosses, they had apparently died in searching for it. One group was really in a very singular situation. During a winter particularly severe, the miners’ provisions, which consist of little else but hung beef, were gradually failing, when a party

volunteered, to save themselves and the rest, that they would endeavor to get over the snow into the valley of Maypo, and return if possible with food. They had scarcely left the hut, when a storm came on and they perished. The crosses are exactly where the bodies were found; they were all off the road; two had died close together; one was about ten yards off, and one had climbed to the top of a large loose fragment of rock, evidently to look for the hut on the road. The view from San Pedro Nolasco, taken altogether, is certainly the most dreadful scene, which in my life I have ever witnessed; and it appeared so little adapted or intended for a human residence, that when I commenced my inspection of the lode, and of the several mines, I could not help feeling, that I was going against nature, and that no sentiment but that of avarice could approve of establishing a number of fellow creatures in a spot, which was a subject of astonishment to me how it was ever discovered.

‘As the snow was in many places fifty feet deep on the lode, I could only walk on the surface from one boccamina to another; but when I had done this I took off my clothes and went down the mine, which it was my particular object to inspect. All the rest had long ago been deserted, but in this one there were a few miners lately sent there, who were carrying on the works on the old system which had been exercised by the Spaniards, and to which these men have all their lives been accustomed.

‘At first we descended by an inclined gallery or level, and then clambered down the notched sticks, which are used in all the mines in South America as ladders. After descending about two hundred and fifty feet, walking occasionally along levels, where the snow and mud were above our ancles, we came to the place where the men were working. It was astonishing to see the strength with which they plied their weighty hammers, and the unremitted exertion with which they worked; and, strange as it may appear, we all agreed that we had never seen Englishmen possess such strength and work so hard. While the barreteros, or miners, were working the lode, the apires were carrying the ore upon their backs; and after we had made the necessary observations, and collected proper specimens, we ascended with several of these apires above and below us.

‘We were quite exhausted when we came to the mouth of the mine; one of my party almost fainted, and as the sun had long ago set, the air was so bleak and freezing, we were so heated, and the scene was so cheerless, that we were glad to hurry into the hut, and to sit upon the ground round a dish of meat, which had long been ready for us.’ ‘While we were at one end of the hut, drinking brandy and water, seated upon our saddles, and lighted

by a brown tallow candle, which was stuck into a bottle, and which was not three yards from a hide filled with gun-powder, the few miners we had seen at work were relieved by others, who were to work through the night. They came into the hut, and without taking the least notice of us, prepared their supper, which was a very simple operation. The men took their candles out of the cloven sticks, and in the cleft they put a piece of dried beef; this they warmed for a few seconds over the embers, which were burning on the ground, and they then eat it, and afterwards drank some melted snow water out of a cow's horn.

'Their meal being over, they then enjoyed the only blessing fortune had allotted to them, which was rest from their labor. They said nothing to each other, but as they sat upon the sheepskin, which was the only bed they had, some fixed their eyes upon the embers, while some seemed to ruminate upon other objects. I gave them what brandy I had, and asked them if they had no spirits, to which they gave me the usual answer, that miners are never allowed to have spirits, and with this law they seemed to be perfectly satisfied.' pp. 190—196.

Santiago is the capital of Chile, and is ranked among the first cities in South America. It is ninety miles interior from Valparaiso, the principal port of Chile, and thirty miles from the Andes, although so lofty and imposing are these mountains, that they seem at this distance to overhang the town. As you approach Santiago, you see none of those elevated domes and turrets, nor indeed any of the striking objects, which give notice that you are about to enter a great city. The castle, upon a moderate height within the town, is the only object conspicuous from afar. The houses and streets on the skirts of the town are mean and dirty, and the same may be said of two thirds of the city itself. The whole city is divided into squares, measuring one hundred and fifty yards on each side. Four of these squares in the centre compose the Plaza, or great square; on one side of this are the cathedral and the bishop's house; on another, the palace, prison, and offices of the ministers of state; and on the other two, shops and private dwellings. For about four squares from the Plaza each way, the streets and houses are beautiful, displaying taste in the style of architecture. There is nothing remarkable in the external appearance of the palace; the sala, or reception room within is simply beautiful, perhaps elegant, but not magnificent. The cathedral is a large pile, well constructed of granite, and is still unfinished. It conveys the idea of grandeur, but con-

fused, and when lighted in the midnight services, this very confusion seems to heighten the impressions of sublimity, which it is calculated to raise.

There are five nunneries in Santiago, all richly endowed. The turbulent scenes of the revolution were by no means calculated to diminish this species of religious zeal. It is not easy to ascertain the number of ecclesiastics in the city, as many of them are frequently absent on missions. From the best information that can be collected, it may be presumed there are more than a thousand, and about six hundred nuns. During the power of the Careras, attempts were made to reduce the number of the ecclesiastics, and likewise establish annual salaries, in lieu of *primicias*, *diernas*, and discretionary fees for all marriages and interments. But these innovations were not acceptable even to the people, who, it would almost seem, would hardly regard a marriage valid, or a death a happy one, unless they were obliged to pay the accustomed fees. The value and effect of a dispensation to quiet scruples of conscience for the omission of any known duty, or the commission of an act forbidden, are still weighed in golden scales. Hence, the absence of the bishop during the troubles of the revolution, has been productive of very serious inconvenience to many conscientious christians in Chile. On some important occasions, several persons have been obliged to have recourse to Rome.

The university in Santiago is an object of interest. The buildings occupy a whole square, and their disposition and general appearance are nearly the same as those of the convents, with a chapel in place of a church. The university has been sadly neglected during the revolution, and has now but very few students, and very imperfect government. It has recently attracted notice, however, and the state has made provisions for its reorganization. All the apartments intended for students and fellows within its walls are dark and gloomy, and little better than the cells of the monks. Whatever other lights they may have to guide them to knowledge, they surely have very little of the light of heaven, for there are not ten windows in all the buildings pertaining to the university. The hours of study are passed in walking round the piazzas, reading aloud, or under the trees in the centre of the square, in the true style of Peripatetics; and, indeed, what of philosophy and metaphysics is taught there savors very much of the days

of Aristotle. No attention has been paid to Greek or Hebrew, but there have been professorships of Latin, Theology, the lower branches of the Mathematics, and Philosophy, which last, as far as its explanation can be understood, means nothing but Logic. Neither astronomy, chemistry, nor any other branch of physical or natural philosophy has ever been introduced. There are no such things as globes, telescopes, mathematical instruments, nor, in fact, any sort of philosophical or chemical apparatus whatsoever.

Considering this state of the university, it is the more remarkable, that there should be an extensive and highly valuable library. A great proportion of the books are of course upon theological subjects, and many of these in Latin, and bound in parchment. There is, moreover, a good number of manuscripts, and a large collection of Spanish and French authors. The whole number of volumes may perhaps be estimated at eight or ten thousand. With such a library, and the Jesuits for teachers, one would hardly suppose, that the sciences would have been so entirely neglected. Graduates, and very sensible men too, till lately might have been heard to discuss, with great formality and gravity, questions concerning the *Seven Heavens*, the *Primum Mobile*, and the *Cælum Empyræum*; and in this venerable seat of the muses, the doctrine of the motion of the earth, and the stationary position of the sun, would have been as ill received as it was in the days of Pythagoras, Copernicus, or Galileo.

The mint at Santiago is a noble building of the Doric order; its proportions are well preserved. Its front occupies the entire side of a square. Another public work of importance is the Tacarnar, an embankment constructed for the purpose of confining the waters of the river which passes through the city. This river rises suddenly during the winter rains to such a degree as to overflow the streets adjoining it, and threaten to inundate the city. To remedy this inconvenience, a solid and finely finished wall of stone and bricks has been raised, and continued through nearly the whole length of the city and suburbs. A spacious new street has thus been formed; at the same time the others, which were formerly exposed, have been secured and improved. In the centre of this street is a fine water fountain, and here and there groves of trees, which form pleasant little shady walks. On the inner side of the wall, throughout its whole extent, is a raised foot walk, about five

feet high and four broad, beautifully paved with small stones, like mosaic work, and affording a dry passage at all seasons, from one end of the city to the other. Of this work, as well as the mint, Ambrosio O'Higgins, father of the late Supreme Director of Chile, was the projector. This bold Irish adventurer, indeed, has left behind him many noble monuments of an exalted and comprehensive genius, in every part of the continent to which his singular fortunes guided him. The great road from Santiago to Valparaiso was the fruit of his enterprise and public spirit, and the post houses on the summit of the Andes were built by his order. The celebrated road from Lima to Callao was constructed by him, after he had risen by his talents alone to the elevated station of Viceroy of Peru. His projects were all on a grand scale, and they all aimed at public good. It may be doubted whether the history of any individual, connected with the Spanish South American provinces, during the colonial servitude, would appear to better advantage, or be contemplated with more satisfaction, than that of the deeds and character of Ambrosio O'Higgins.

As nothing approaching an accurate census of the capital of Chile has been taken, it is impossible to tell how many inhabitants it contains. The common answer to the question in the city itself is, *bastantes miles*, many thousands. Some travellers represent the city to be nearly as large in compass as Philadelphia, and although its houses are incomparably inferior in every other respect, they are better stocked with inhabitants. No estimate of the actual number can be made, however, from this comparison, because the houses of cities in warm climates are more scattered, and occupy more space, than in colder regions. It is believed by recent observers, that the population of the state of Chile has been put too low. It was supposed at the beginning of the revolution to be under two millions. It has lately been thought to contain more than three. But everything on this subject is conjecture. No census has been taken, or can be taken for the present. Such has been the influence of the old government, that an attempt of this sort would be suspected at once, and fail of its ends. The common people would fear an impressment for the army, and fly into the mountains; and the better orders would think of nothing but some scheme on the part of the government to levy a new tax, and they would practise deception and evasion. A census taken under these circumstances would tell no truth, and be of no value.

The revolution in Chile began in July, 1810, when the captain general, Carrasco, was compelled by the inhabitants of Santiago to resign his command, and the Count de la Conquista was appointed to take his place. Shortly after a plan of a new government was formed by an assembly, which voluntarily collected for the purpose. The supreme power was invested in a junta, of which the Count de la Conquista was president. This junta issued a summons for deputies to be sent from all parts of Chile to a general congress, and at the same time prescribed the method of election. Some disturbances occurred in prosecuting the election at Santiago, but delegates were at length chosen throughout the country, and a congress was convened. Here new seeds of discord began to germinate, by reason of the great number of members attending the congress, their disproportion in different districts, and the alleged illegality of the manner in which many of them had been chosen. A strong discontented party sprang up, at the head of which were three brothers, by the name of Carrera, sons of a rich landholder in Santiago. At this period Mr Poinsett, our present minister in Mexico, was in Chile; and he took an active and responsible part with the Carreras, and is understood to have rendered them much assistance by his counsels and personal services. The military adhered to this party, and the cry for reform became every day more loud and imperious. This point was partially carried in September, 1811, and the congress proceeded to institute and recommend a plan of government. The Carreras were not satisfied, their party gained strength, and in November, they compelled the congress to appoint a new junta consisting of three members, one of whom was the eldest brother, Don José Miguel Carrera. By this junta an additional regiment of cavalry was raised, and Carrera was made colonel. His two brothers, Juan José Carrera, and Luis Carrera, were also officers in the army, the one major of grenadiers, and the other captain of artillery. Having thus the military on their side, the Carreras may be said to have been at the head of the government at this time; and through various commotions and vicissitudes they maintained their power and influence for nearly three years. They had many enemies, of course, and when the royalists were reinforced from Peru, and began to press heavily upon the country, the torrent of disapprobation was too strong for them to withstand. José Miguel Carrera was superseded in the command of the

army by Bernardo O'Higgins. This change lighted the torch of civil war, but the necessity of union to resist the common enemy, prevented any very serious consequences. Two of the Carreras were taken prisoners by the royalists, and carried to Chillan, but they found means to escape. At length came on the decisive battle of Rancagua, in October, 1814, where the patriots were defeated, and the royalists gained entire possession of Chile. The Carreras fled across the Andes to Mendoza with several hundred troops. More than two thousand patriots sought refuge in the same quarter, others were persecuted and punished in various ways, and a large number was exiled to the island of Juan Fernandez.

The government of Buenos Aires took a lively interest in the fate of Chile, and a plan was shortly devised for disposing the royalists of their acquisitions. The safety of Buenos Aires itself demanded this step. Troops were therefore gradually sent to Mendoza to unite with those from Chile, and the whole were put under the command of General San Martin. They amounted at last to four thousand, and with this army San Martin crossed the Andes in January, 1817. The army was formed in two divisions, one of which was commanded by O'Higgins. This passage of the Andes with such an army, and all its military accompaniments, has justly been considered a great enterprise, proving the resources, zeal, and energy of the general. The combined army met the royalists, and gained a brilliant victory at Chacabuco, fifty miles from Santiago, to which city San Martin advanced without further opposition. A congress of the principal inhabitants was immediately convened, and San Martin was chosen Supreme Director of Chile. He declined the appointment, and by his influence Bernardo O'Higgins was raised to that office. The royalists retired to Talcahuana, a sea port in the south of Chile, where they were reinforced from Peru, till their numbers became again formidable to the patriots. The cause of liberty remained in suspense till the 5th of April, 1818, when the great battle of Maypu was fought, the Spanish army completely routed, and the independence of Chile established. O'Higgins continued to be Supreme Director, although San Martin was commander in chief of the army, till his expedition to Peru, which took place in 1820. O'Higgins was afterwards removed, and he retired to Lima. By the last intelligence concerning his movements, he had found means to take pos-

session of the Isles of Chiloe, with the view, it was supposed, of regaining his lost power in Chile. His successor was Freyre, who is still at the head of the government.

The fate of the Carreras was a melancholy one. The two younger brothers were barbarously executed in Mendoza, after having been condemned for the part they took in endeavoring to reestablish themselves in Chile. The eldest brother, José Miguel, resolved to revenge this injury. He retired to Buenos Aires, and afterwards came to the United States, seeking supplies of money and men. On his return we find him in the neighborhood of Buenos Aires, at the head of a small body of forces, natives and foreigners, Gauchos of the plains, and a few English, French, and American sailors and soldiers. His progress was viewed with some uneasiness by the government of Buenos Aires, and not less so by that of Chile, where he was known to possess many powerful partisans. The lower orders, and the soldiery, still cherished the remembrance of his rule, and were devoted to him, for, during his power, he had proved himself a good politician and an accomplished courtier. He had always asked as a favor, what he might have demanded as a right, and the people delighted to recount the instances of his condescension, affability, and munificence.

In his march across the Pampas he had several skirmishes with the garrisons of the different military posts. He found means to correspond with his friends in Santiago, and no doubt received supplies from that place. It was at this period of his career, that a conspiracy in his favor was detected on the eve of its successful execution. The Director, O'Higgins, displayed at this moment his characteristic intrepidity. He entered alone at midnight a room, filled with conspirators against his government and life; he commanded them instantly to disperse, and owe their lives to his clemency. They did not wait for a repetition of the command, but fled precipitately, leaving some of their papers behind them. Carrera passed the Pampas with no other difficulty, than such as arose from the nature of the country. He took and pillaged San Luis, and advanced leisurely towards Mendoza. At this time he is said to have been deceived in regard to the state of public feeling respecting him in that quarter, and indeed we can in no other way account for the fatal rashness of his measures. The government of Chile had watched his progress, and taken care to

prepare the Mendozans for his reception. He thus found himself in the vicinity of Mendoza, in January, 1822, with about a thousand troops. Leaving the greater part of them at Retano, nearly forty miles from the town, he advanced with about three hundred horse. Meantime all the regular troops and militia of Mendoza had marched out to meet him. He first encountered a body of horse, not equal to his own, which he attacked. They opened, and displayed a large body of infantry, which had been concealed from his observation. Flight was now his only resort, and he arrived at Retano, pursued by the enemy. Here he resolved to make a stand, and at least to sell his life dearly. When attacked, however, he discovered that he had been betrayed by the officer left in command, who in his absence had held a correspondence with the enemy, and now went over to them with most of his men. Still Carrera fought, and seemed determined to defend himself though with a single arm; but surrounded and overwhelmed by numbers, he fell exhausted into their hands. He was immediately conducted to Mendoza, where, after a brief form of trial, he was executed on the very spot, that had hardly ceased smoking with the blood of his brothers.

Among the most interesting persons, who have appeared in the revolution of Chile, may be reckoned Manuel Rodriguez, the friend, adviser, and coadjutor of the Carreras. As far as a man's purposes can be understood from his professions and acts, it may be truly said of Rodriguez, that he had the liberty and equal rights of his countrymen, as well as their independence, really at heart. As far, at least, as the refusal of office and compensation for inestimable services in his country's cause, will go as an argument in his favor, we may believe him to have been governed by disinterested patriotism. Till recently, his fate has been involved in the deepest mystery; no one has pronounced his name but with the utmost caution, or scarcely heard it without crossing himself. He was equal in rank to his friends the Carreras, but he was destined to different pursuits in life, having devoted himself to the study of the law, in which profession he was rising to eminence.

At the commencement of the revolution he joined the patriot party, and adhered to it without wavering to the last. He was the Mentor of the Carreras, and when their fortunes declined, he accompanied them across the Andes. His spirit and exertions did not flag with their ill success; he enlisted in the cause

of his country with the same zeal, when its interests were entrusted to San Martin as when they were in the hands of his friends. When Buenos Aires undertook the emancipation of Chile, Rodriguez was one of the most forward in council and in action. His chivalrous spirit induced him to choose the most perilous and important office, that fell to the lot of any one engaged in the enterprise, that of personally conveying information to the friends of insurrection in Santiago, and ascertaining the disposition of the people at large in Chile. In the execution of this trust he proved himself another Proteus. Though cautious and prudent, where the interest of his cause was in jeopardy, yet there was no personal hazard or adventure that had not a charm for him. He engaged to cross the Andes and enter Chile for purposes of secret observation at a time, when the government could not but have been jealous and wary, as well of the Carrera party, as of the people of Buenos Aires. During the period between the battles of Rancagua and of Chacabuco, while the royalists retained undisturbed possession of the kingdom, he passed the mountains and entered Chile in various disguises, three different times, travelling generally on foot. He appeared sometimes in the dress of a miner, sometimes of a friar begging alms for his convent, and sometimes of a pedlar. In this manner he went as far south as Talca, eighty leagues from Santiago, and about the same distance towards Coquimbo, frequently making himself known, but only to those with whom he was thoroughly acquainted. At one time in Santiago, when he thought himself pursued, he was concealed for a day, and part of a night, in the house of one of his friends, in a *tenaca*, or large earthen wine jar; at another time, when returning from Chile to Mendoza, he was impressed by an officer, who, with a guard of soldiers, had been posted in a pass of the Cordilleras, for the very purpose of interrupting the correspondence, and preventing communication with the other side, and whose men were then employed in repairing the road. Rodriguez was immediately set to work, and showed that he could handle the spade and axe, as skilfully as he had formerly done his pen. He was detained two days, and all the time had concealed about his person important letters and papers, the discovery of any one of which would inevitably have cost him his head.

He frequently went at noonday to the houses of some of the first men in the city, in tatters, and with a basket of fruit upon

his head, and while bargaining for the fruit made himself known, and received important communications.

Rodriguez accompanied the army of San Martin into Chile, and after the battle of Chacabuco he returned to the city, and set himself quietly down in his study. He mingled no further in public affairs, than any other decided private patriot, till the dispersion of San Martin's army at Canchariada. When the news of this disastrous event reached the city, all eyes were instantly turned on Rodriguez. To him was owing in a great measure the success of exertions, which have too often been attributed exclusively to San Martin. For the moment, he assumed the office of Director, and executed its duties. He harangued the people, exposed to them the folly of despair, the rashness of flight, and the absolute necessity of a last struggle, although it should be the struggle of death. He succeeded in calming their fears and inspiring hope. The soldiers, who were all on the wing for the Cordilleras, he induced to remain and prepare to be organized anew; and before the arrival of San Martin and the Director was announced in the capital, he had quelled the first impulse of terror in the inhabitants, and put affairs into the train, that led to the glorious results which ensued.

In the space of three days he raised and organized a corps of six hundred horsemen; and in as many more had them disciplined and ready for the field. This would be incredible, did we not know that a Chileno's home is on horseback, and that the youth of the better sort are universally accustomed to the exercise of the broadsword. This corps received the appellation of *La Batallon de la buena Muerte*. In the hard fought battle of Maypu, an important post was assigned to it, and Rodriguez proved himself on that occasion as well fitted for the field as for the cabinet. Unfortunately, however, it soon appeared, that more of the credit of this victory, and the events preparatory to it, were by popular opinion attributed to him, than was consistent with his safety. Six or eight days after the battle and in the midst of the festivities consequent upon it, he suddenly disappeared, and no man dared to ask, Where is Rodriguez? He has never since been seen.

Thus was this remarkable man cut off prematurely, before he had attained his thirtyfirst year. There can no longer be any doubt, if there ever was any, that he was secretly murdered by order of those in high authority, who feared the influence of his name and his talents with the people.

The early history of the press in Chile is curious, as will be seen by the following facts, for which we are indebted to Colonel Worthington's memoranda. The first printing press arrived at Valparaiso on the 21st of November, 1811. It was sent from New York, and cost six hundred and fifty dollars. The Carreras paid for it eight thousand in Chile. In January following the press was put in motion, and the first paper was issued which ever appeared in the country, and was called the *Aurora of Chile*. It was conducted by Johnson, Garrison, and Berbridge, all citizens of the United States, who went out with the press from New York. The editor was Henriques Camilla. The *Aurora* continued about two years, during which time Iresarri, a native of Mexico, published a weekly paper. When the royalists retook the country the press expired; but after the battle of Chacabuco it was revived, and a paper called the *Gazette of Chile* was set up, and was continued under that name till the battle of Maypu. It then took the name of the *Ministerial Gazette*, and for a most frivolous pretext it was put under the control of the Secretary of State, Iresarri. Then followed the *Argus of Chile*, and two papers of little significance, the *Fairy* and the *Sun*. Since that time many other papers have successively risen up and expired, and there are now several published in the country, containing intelligence and free political discussions.

The sudden influx of merchants and adventurers into Chile, for a few years after the revolution, produced a scene of tumult and confusion rarely witnessed among civilized people. Neither the language of those who came to traffic, nor the value or use of the articles of merchandise they brought, was understood. It was not a state of things that had grown out of the genius and habits of the people; every thing was forced and unnatural. A few of the first adventurers, as is always the case in political and commercial revolutions, met with success, and realized their hopes; but others that followed their steps, and adventured largely, found disappointment and ruin. The people at large in Chile, more perhaps than in any other part of South America, are obstinately attached to ancient habits, and have a distrustful aversion to changes of any sort. They have the pride and prejudice of old Spaniards, with minds much less enlightened, and, of course, less susceptible of the improvements of commerce. Their habits and modes of life have, in a good measure, grown out of their peculiar climate, and the nature of the country.

On entering a *Bogeda* in Valparaiso, designed at first as a storehouse for eighty or a hundred thousand bushels of wheat, you might, during the period we have alluded to, almost have imagined yourself in a London or Manchester warehouse ; and the Plaza of Santiago resembled a Leipsic fair. In preparing articles for that market, regard must be had not only to their general fabric, and the materials of which they are made, but even the most skilful must learn anew how to manufacture them. You would find it difficult to induce a Chileno to mount his horse in an English riding cloak, when the *poncho*, which his Indian neighbors have taught him to weave, will answer his purpose much better ; and the fair of Chile will furnish but poor customers for pins and bodkins, while there is not one in a hundred among them, that ever saw a pin, or felt the need of one. The owner of a *hacienda*, who, before sowing season, has fifty or a hundred ploughs in constant use, will hardly be persuaded to pay ten pounds for an English plough, while those that cost him ten rials are quite as advantageous to him ; or to supply his hundreds of peons with iron spades and shovels, when those of wood, which each one makes for himself, will serve their turn as well ; besides, ploughs and shovels like these were used by his father before him. Nor would the Señoras of the land patiently submit to the uncertainty and fluctuations of commerce, and live in dependence for supplies of China tea upon voyages across the Pacific, when they find in the *herba* of a neighboring province, a beverage quite as fine flavored and refreshing, and which has the further powerful recommendation, that it is the same which their mothers were accustomed to sip.

It may moreover be added, that the eagerness with which this new channel of commerce was followed up by foreigners, not only misled the adventurers themselves, but blinded the eyes of the Chilian government to their own commercial interests. A new, and rich, and apparently simple source of public revenue was suddenly opened to them, and committed to the direction of men grossly ignorant, or, to say the least, extremely inexperienced in the great fundamental and reciprocal principles of commerce. Hence, duties on foreign merchandise were imposed, with nearly the same regulations as were used in other and very different times, and in levying internal taxes, the scheme of the tariff, indeed, seemed to have regard to hardly any other considerations, than the immediate exigen-

cies of the government, and the ability of the merchant. Salutary changes are gradually and slowly taking place; yet there is abundant room for improvement, not more in the commercial regulations, than in the political and civil institutions of Chile.

ART. III.—*Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the United Irish Society, and Adjutant General in the Service of the French and Batavian Republics. Written by Himself, and continued by his Son; with his Political Writings, and Fragments of his Diary, whilst Agent to the General and Sub Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, and Secretary to the Delegation who presented their Petition to His Majesty George III. His Mission to France; with a complete Diary of his Negotiations to procure the Aid of the French and Batavian Republics for the Liberation of Ireland; of the Expedition of Bantry Bay, the Texel, and of that wherein he fell. Narrative of his Trial, Defence before the Court Martial, and Death. Edited by his Son, WILLIAM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE; with a brief Account of his own Education and Campaigns under the Emperor Napoleon.* 2 vols. 8vo. Washington.

THIS ample title page promises much variety, and in that the reader will not be disappointed; and though to such as hold a great book to be a great evil, twelve hundred pages of autobiography may seem somewhat appalling, yet many will think, when they have read the work and felt its interest and importance, that it is not too long. We are of opinion, however, that with regard to its popularity and general circulation, it might have been condensed to advantage. The multiplicity of books in these days renders economy of time as well as of purse, a necessary consideration.

It has become a fashion of late, and it is sanctioned by the example of the most ingenious authors of our times, to interweave with affecting stories of individuals, often creatures of the brain, important passages of history, and thus to enlist curiosity and sensibility in aid of useful acquirements. The nearer those works resemble or approach the truth, the greater are their merit and their charm. The narrative before us comes

out as one of entire truth ; the history is of a crisis as important as any, that the eventful period of the last half century has produced ; and the story is more moving, more pathetic, and of more thrilling interest, than almost any tale of romance invented to excite the sympathies of human nature, and the tenderer feelings of the heart. Before we had read this book, we had heard the name of Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had suffered, with many others of his countrymen, for attempting to effect a separation of Ireland from England ; for having been a United Irishman, taken in arms, bearing the commission of a French general officer, and waging war against the Irish, or, should we say, the British government. We had always understood him to have been a man of lofty courage and eminent talents, and of an amiable and virtuous private character. The specimens we had seen of other distinguished United Irishmen, who had been for many years our fellow citizens, had impressed us very favorably ; but we had never before seen the history of that epoch drawn out so fully, nor formed a proper conception of the solid arguments upon which the rebellion of the Irish people could be defended, nor of the extensive views of those who put all to hazard on the chance of liberty or death.

When we took up these volumes we intended no more, than to exercise an impartial judgment within the sphere of our literary duties ; we did not, nor do we yet, enter the field as champions of Ireland against England ; we rather hope that some propitious change may remove the causes of such a disastrous strife, wherein men, formed to shine as an ornament and honor to their country, perish on the scaffold. But without engaging in that quarrel we must say, that had we been the most devoted partisans of England's power and empire, still by the reading of this narrative, our hearts would have been subdued into respect and admiration for the man, who in so extraordinary a degree united the highest and most attractive qualities of the head and heart. It is rare to find such endowments in one individual ; quick and brilliant conceptions, a judgment solid and exact, powers of argument clear and convincing, great firmness of purpose, with a temper gentle and winning, and a cheerful and pleasing vein of native wit, that in the darkest hours of danger and dismay lighted and cheered his way, and in the very heat of battle played like a lambent flame around his crest. Add to this a heart framed for friendship and love, and it must be owned, that, perish where he

might, when or for what he might, when Tone fell, there fell a noble being.

And now, after long years are past, his son and relict claim to be heard in his behalf. They appeal to the great tribunal of humanity and to posterity, to man below, to heaven above, for a reversal of that sentence, which doomed him to a traitor's death. We are told by the editor, the son and worthy representative of such a father, that more than a quarter of a century has been suffered to pass, lest the disclosures in this story of his father's life might compromise his friends, or any of those who acted with him. At length, and when there remained but two survivors of his family, the precariousness of human life required the consummation of the long made vow. A monument was to be raised from the materials which his own hands had provided; and to the record of his conviction as a traitor, was to be opposed and confronted the record of his life. 'It is a tribute,' says the son, 'which I owe to the memory of my father, and a sacred duty; believing as I do that in the eyes of impartial posterity it will do honor to his character.'

Our duty as reviewers of this book is not an easy one. No ordinary rules of criticism can be fairly applied to writings, never intended to meet the public eye, and which never would have appeared in their present form, had the author lived to complete the history of his country, of his own life, and his own times. We are told by the editor, and it is often repeated by his father in different passages of his diaries, that they were intended for his family and one or two select friends; and nothing, indeed can be more evident; for to whom else could be addressed those glowing expressions of heartfelt love, those inward confidences of the soul, those playful sallies of whim and humor, those transitions from grave to gay, not to be felt or understood but by the few to whose fond memory they might recall the happier hours of social and domestic intercourse?

We shall endeavor to give a fair summary of the nature and contents of the book, without overloading our article with quotations, in which if we were to indulge ourselves, we should be led too far. And, with respect to the digressions and railery so amusing, and often so affecting, it would be injustice to repeat them to our readers, who might not yet have become acquainted with the genius and character of him, from whom they proceeded, nor have entered into the feelings of the little community, with whom they were current, and for whom only they were intended.

If it be asked, why reveal to the public what was intended only for the social or domestic circle? we should say, that candor suggests a ready answer. The justification, or vindication, of Tone's character and honor, was not to be a denial of any fact, nor the particular inculpation of any individual. On his trial he disclaimed all subterfuge, all compromise. He would have stated with manly composure the grounds on which he acted, and the reasons why he took up arms. He was not allowed to exhibit his side of the question. He was denied a hearing on the only point to which he cared to speak. He made but one request, which was to die the death of a soldier, and as an enemy taken in honorable warfare. Had that been thought admissible, these memoirs perhaps had never seen the light. It was because he was refused that boon, not denied to the French emigrants standing nearly in the same situation before the military tribunals of the French republic, as he did before that court martial assembled to pass sentence upon him, that this vindication of his character has been after so long delay, produced. He was sentenced to a mode of death, which to himself abstractedly, might have been indifferent, but which affected him through those whom he loved much more than his own life. It was calculated to wring the heart of his aged and sorrowing parent, to give a triumph to a malignant faction, and to wound his honor as a soldier, for he held the commission of a *chef de brigade*, and of adjutant general in the French army, and had served as such. If, then, the object was to confound him with common malefactors and felons by the manner of his death, and to fix the stigma of shame and infamy on him and his posterity, how natural, how honorable, and how sacred is the task, by which his son has undertaken to lay before the world his acts, his opinions, his words, his writings, his secret thoughts and very inward breathings of his soul. And this may well account for and excuse whatever may seem redundant in these volumes; for the son and relict of this extraordinary man well knew, that more was required of them, than their own silent sorrow, or smothered and unavailing recollections.

It was not enough, that they adored his memory. It was not enough, that he had died lamented, and that in the dark and dismal night of terror, that enveloped all connected with him, some few and faithful friends had stolen secretly with trembling steps to scatter a few tear bedewed flowers on his

grave ; or that, in later times and under better auspices, his name had been sounded with bolder acclamation. It was not enough, that his fate had been pitied, and his private worth acknowledged. It was not enough, that he should have a place in story, with brave outlaws, or convicts half redeemed from the shame of their crimes by their courage, amiable qualities, or high endowments. It was not enough for those who gloried in his name to seek excuses for him, as for one of a good heart but unsound judgment, an honest enthusiast, who does wrong intending right. Those with whom his vindication lay were too candid and too enlightened not to know, that revolt and rebellion against organized power and settled government may be and often have been the work of guilty and remorseless ambition, and this even where the governments sought to be overturned were themselves corrupt. They were willing that his merit should be graduated upon that scale, which descends to Cataline and mounts to Cato ; and for their patriot hero they claim the highest point ; and they proudly, and we cannot say vaingloriously, place him by the side of that last and best of the free Romans, who, when his country's cause was lost, and her last hope gone, fell upon his own sword, and closed his eyes in willing death, before the hand of the executioner could dishonor his person, or he be led forth to swell the triumph of his fratricidal foe. The stake they go for is an important one. The world must be their judge. They have laid the very soul of their beloved martyr bare to view. His failings and frailties, of which he was himself the sternest censor, are all set forth. Truth, sacred truth, is the foundation on which they place his monumental image, faithful to the life, uncurtailed in any one of its proportions.

It was with this view, no doubt, that so many of the lighter fragments have been inserted, and that so many of his graver writings have been retained, to serve as cumulative evidence, how profoundly he had examined the subject of his country's unhappy condition, and probed the wounds under which she suffered and groaned. And though there may be many repetitions in these various tracts, yet the historical knowledge they contain, and the moral and political lessons they impress, render them well worth preserving. Others, who have written long histories of Ireland, have, like the historians of other countries, indulged in speculations, and dwelt more upon fabulous antiquities, than the purposes of true and useful history would

warrant. Swift and Molineux were the authors, who treated the cause of Ireland with a view to her condition then, her rights and her wrongs. But when Swift wrote, the great mass of the population were broken and brayed, and while he dissected the religious dissensions between high church and low church, and the political factions of Whig and of Tory, he thought no more of the majority of the people, and the most ancient possessors, than if they had been so many beasts of the field. And as the whigs and patriots in and out of parliament entertained no more enlarged or extensive views, when the American revolution first stirred their patriotic feelings, and raised their thoughts towards the equal independence of their country, its free legislation and free trade; when they formed that army of volunteers, which was first raised to defend their unprotected coasts against invasion, and afterwards to give efficacy to their remonstrances against the usurpations of an English government and legislature over that of their own then independent kingdom, as they asserted it to be; so, though their success was brilliant, and a blaze of uncommon talent shone forth within their parliament, yet a few years undid all that they had done. Religious intolerance divided the land, and, as the house that is divided against itself cannot stand, so neither could they. Instead of securing that equality and independence, which was already within their grasp, they lost all, because they were too interested, too proud, or too bigoted, to share the privileges they challenged for themselves with the mass of their countrymen.

It was at this interesting epoch that Tone, who had already given early proofs of his talents, was led to consider the cause of such a failure, and deeply examine the true state and condition of his country. We shall here use the words of the editor in his preface.

‘In opening these pages, it should be remembered that the situation and political organization of Ireland at that period were perfectly different from what they had been before and have fallen to since. She possessed at that precise moment a separate government and a national legislature nominally independent. My father never considered himself as an Englishman, nor a subject of Great Britain, but as a native and subject of the kingdom of Ireland, most zealously and passionately devoted to the rights, liberties, and glory of his country. At the epoch of the American war (1782), the unguarded state of that island, the efforts of the patriots in its legislature, and the simultaneous and formidable

rising of the volunteers, whilst England was exhausted by that fruitless contest, had wrung from the British government the reluctant acknowledgment of its independence. The period was bright and glorious. With the first dawn of liberty, Ireland took a new spring, and began to flourish by her natural resources, the spirit of the people reviving with her commerce, industry, and manufactures. But this dawn was soon overcast by the corruption of her government, and the bigoted intolerance of the ruling Protestant ascendancy. My object is not to write a history, nor to anticipate what my father has urged with such force and eloquence in the following memoirs; but had the Irish legislators, who recovered their independent rights, had the liberality to emancipate their Catholic brethren, and allowed them to participate in the benefits of free and equal citizenship, and had the volunteers admitted them into their ranks, England never would have recovered the power she had lost; and it would be a curious, but at this day a vain speculation, to calculate what those two independent but allied kingdoms might have risen to, each cultivating its own separate means, under one sovereign and with one interest.' Vol. i. p. 5, 6.

Speaking of the Roman Catholics of that day, whom the wakening spirit of liberty had roused from their long slumber, he says;

'Their first steps were weak and timid, but their progress was inconceivably rapid. Those of the present day, in reading these memoirs, and other works of the same time, will scarcely believe that their fathers could ever have been degraded to such a state; and with what trembling, doubts, and hesitation, they first opened their eyes to the dawn of freedom, and directed their first tottering steps in its career. My father was the first Protestant, who engaged in their cause to its full extent, and experienced in the beginning the greatest difficulty to rouse them, if not to a sense of their wrongs, at least to the spirit of expressing them.'

Vol. i. p. 6.

After animadverting upon the narrow policy, which, instead of encouraging the industry and the mental and physical resources of Ireland, from a petty jealousy of competition crushed them by every possible means, he adds;

'The only conclusion which I wish to draw from these premises is, that England, by dissolving the Irish government, has fully confirmed the charges adduced against it, and my father's opinion of it; and till the abuses which it supported, and which survived its fall are corrected, till that monopoly is removed by which all the rights of citizenship and sovereignty are usurped by a favored

minority, whilst the remainder of the population groans in slavery, Ireland, either under a separate and national administration, or as a province of Great Britain, will ever remain in an unnatural state of anarchy and misery, unable to cultivate her resources, either for her own benefit, or even for that of her masters.'

Vol. i. p. 8.

It appears that although Tone became soon convinced that the oppressive rule and impolitic jealousy of England were the primary sources of all the misery and degradation of Ireland, and its own corrupt domestic administration but the secondary cause, yet he did not aim at separation till he was equally convinced, that all other hopes were vain. He was the confidential agent of the Catholic body, and attended their delegation, when, passing over the limits of their prisonhouse, they carried their petition to the monarch, and obtained concessions that promised a fair measure of contentment, and a more propitious era, had not the evil genius of Ireland given a malignant turn to her affairs, and a baleful triumph to the enemies of her peace and happiness. The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the measure of coercion, insult, and cruelty, which followed and ended in rebellion, are well known as historical events, and will long be lamented by every friend to that country, and by the true friends of England. The progress of that rebellion, and the mighty consequences which it threatened to the British empire, will be found in these memoirs; and since the events are now past and over, they furnish deep matter of reflection to the wise and philanthropic statesman.

The first article in the work is a fragment of the life of Theobald Wolfe Tone written by himself, but never completed, giving an account of his early adventures and of his family circumstances. In this sketch, he exposes very freely the follies of his youth, his early passion for military parades, and the genius of his whole family for roaming abroad and visiting foreign countries. The uncertain and somewhat unfortunate circumstances of his father's house, added to this disposition, deprived him, as he says, of the advantages of cool and settled study, and yet such was the quickness of his natural parts, that he bore off almost every prize for which he was a competitor in Trinity College, where he was educated, obtained a scholarship, and would in all probability have gained a fellowship, had he remained a proper time. But the love of that person, with whom he united his destiny, then young and beautiful,

gave a new direction to his fate and fortunes. They made what is called a runaway match, but unlike many of those thoughtless and imprudent marriages, which begin in giddy passion and often end in apathy or disunion, these two congenial spirits grew together, and he that would see the picture of true and constant love, has but to read their story. Their little means sufficed for all their wants, and in their domestic circle, composed of this fond couple, his sister, his brothers, and his friend Russell, whom he loved still as a brother, wit, affection, and the delights of intellectual intercourse graced their frugal meals, and though fortune frowned, they never ceased to smile.

It being determined that he should try his fortune at the bar, he passed the usual time of probation in London, keeping his commons at one of the inns of court, and with no other help than such as those preposterous institutions afford to the bewildered student, where he receives neither tuition nor advice. He soon became disgusted with that life of inanity, so ill suited to his lively genius, and employed himself at times in writing essays for a magazine. But he and his brother and his friend Phipps, as he relates, formed once a bolder project, and drew up and presented a memorial to Mr Pitt, containing a proposal for the establishment of a colony in one of Cook's newly discovered islands, on a military plan, to put a bridle on Spain in time of peace, and annoy her in that quarter in time of war. This was at first favorably received by the ministers, but soon after, a convention being agreed upon between England and Spain, he was informed that existing circumstances had rendered it unnecessary at that time to put it in execution, but that it would be kept in remembrance. At length, in the year 1789, he was called to the Irish bar; but he declares with his usual *naïveté*, that though he went circuit three times, and dressed himself in a foolish wig and gown, yet he was '*modestly speaking*, one of the most ignorant barristers in the Four Courts.' It appears, however, that notwithstanding this self imputed ignorance, he nearly cleared his expenses on his first circuit, which is more than many do after a much longer period.

Here begins his political career. A pamphlet in defence of the Whig Club, then newly established, and vehemently attacked, brought an invitation from that body, the chief of which was Mr George Ponsonby. He was now dazzled with

the prospect of a seat in Parliament, and was employed on an election petition with a fee of a hundred guineas, as a mark of incipient favor; but though he considered the principles of the Whigs good so far as they went, his own views had become more expanded. He did not like the idea of attaching himself as a dependant to any great man. Upon this subject he thus expresses himself.

‘I soon found reason not to regret that the whigs had not thought me an object worthy of their cultivation. I made speedily what seemed to me a great discovery, though I might have found it in Swift and Molyneux, that the influence of England was the radical vice in our government, and consequently that Ireland never would be free, prosperous, or happy, until she was independent, and that independence was unattainable, whilst the connexion with England existed. In forming this theory which has ever since unwaveringly directed my political conduct, to which I have sacrificed everything, and am ready to sacrifice my life if necessary, I was exceedingly assisted by an old friend of mine, Sir Lawrence Parsons, whom I look upon to be one of the *very few* honest men in the Irish House of Commons. It was he who first turned my attention to this great question, but I very soon ran ahead of my master. It is in fact to him that I am indebted for the first comprehensive view of the actual situation of Ireland. What his conduct might be in a crisis I know not, but I can answer for the truth and justice of his theory. I now began to look on the little politics of the Whig Club with great contempt, and their peddling about petty grievances instead of going to the root of the evil; and I rejoiced that, if I was poor, as I actually was, I had preserved my independence, and could speak my sentiments without being responsible to any but the law.’ Vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

In recording the names of the members of a club which he had instituted about this time, consisting of the best wits of the day, he thus speaks of the well known martyr in the cause of his country’s liberty and rights.

‘I have strangely omitted the name of a man,’ says he, ‘whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, and would I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life. In classing the men I most esteem, I would place him beside Russell at the head of the list;

because with regard to them both, the most ardent feelings of my heart coincide exactly with the most severe decision of my judgment.' Vol. i. p. 40.

The passage, which follows this, contains his remarks on the effects of the French revolution upon England and Ireland respectively, and of the great controversy between Burke and Paine. These remarks show the acute and original turn of his mind, and how vigorously he could seize upon the reality in every controverted question. After stating the reasons of Burke's triumph in England over Paine, and the revolutionary principles, he continues ;

'But matters were very different in Ireland, an oppressed, plundered, and insulted nation. As we well knew, experimentally, what it was to be enslaved, we sympathized more sincerely with the French people, and watched their progress to freedom with the utmost anxiety. As the revolution advanced, and as events expanded themselves, the public spirit of Ireland rose with a rapid acceleration. The fears and animosities of the aristocracy rose in the same or a still higher proportion ; till in a little time the French revolution became the test of every man's political creed, and the nation was fairly divided into two great parties, the aristocrats and democrats (epithets borrowed from France), who have ever since been measuring each other's strength, and carrying on a kind of smothered war, which the course of events, it is highly probable, may soon call into energy and action.'

Vol. i. p. 43.

We next come to the author's account of the origin and principles of the United Irishmen, and the formation of the first club in Belfast, of which he wrote the declaration, but in which he says he soon sunk into obscurity, for the establishment of a republic at that time had not entered into his speculations. He sought only the independence of his country. Antipathy to England had now become almost an instinct in him ; he considered the power of that country as in constant hostility to the happiness and welfare of Ireland. Some new advances were at this time made to him by the Whig party, which he did not reciprocate, and he intimates a belief that Mr Ponsonby had not forgiven him for his independent conduct towards him and those who acted with him.

We are obliged to pass over many interesting particulars, which abound in every page of this fragment, and hasten to the concluding part of the biography by his son. From this it appears, that his father wrote in Paris the abstract here men-

tioned, some time after the latest events recounted in it, and from memory. It brings down the history of his life to the middle of July, 1792. The sequel would have been supplied by the diaries, which he regularly kept from the time that he felt himself involved in important public concerns, had not these diaries, comprehending a most eventful period of his life, been lost through the fault or neglect of a friend, with whom they were deposited for safe keeping. It is to fill out this deficiency, from the scanty materials which remained, that his son resumed his pen, and few men were more competent to do justice to such a task, than Captain William Theobald Wolfe Tone. At an early age, his talent for historical composition had acquired him distinguished notice from the National Institute of France. His literary attainments, unassuming merit, fidelity, and courage, have rendered him a favorite, as well with his preceptors in academical learning, as with his military chiefs. On the fall of his great master, Napoleon, he honorably resigned his commission, and repaired to this country, where, we believe, his merit has not been overlooked by those of our statesmen, most capable of appreciating it.

After having been the Secretary, and an able and efficient agent of the Catholic body, accompanied the delegation which carried their petition to the foot of the throne, and refused, from a high spirit of independence, very advantageous offers from the great leaders of the Whigs, Tone became implicated with Jackson, who was sent from France to sound the sentiments of the Irish people. But he was at length obliged to leave his native country, and come to the United States. He had determined to settle near Princeton, in New Jersey, and was in treaty for a farm, when he was invited by his friends in Ireland to repair to France, and solicit succors from the government for the liberation of their country. His early political creed was not revolutionary, although he always considered the influence of England, and her support of the monopoly and of the abuses of the Irish administration and protestant ascendancy party, as the bane of Irish prosperity, and thought that independence was to be sought by every practicable means. He clearly saw that the great impediment to this object was the disunion of religious parties, and the exclusion of the great body of the people from every civil and religious right. He was convinced that no relief could be effectual or worth pursuing, which was not founded on entire equality and justice.

The Whig principles he approved, so far as they were accordant with this sentiment ; but he soon made up his mind, that the narrow views of the Irish Whigs, who, with a great show of patriotism, and display of talents and eloquence, still hung upon petty grievances, and hacknied opposition, aiming rather at a change of men and their own advancement, than at the restoration of the people to their rights, were rather hurtful than advantageous to the real cause of his country. He had sounded the bottom of the question on every side. He had negotiated between the catholics and the protestant dissenters, and between them both and the great leaders of the opposition of the day, Grattan, Lord Moira, the Ponsonbys, and others ; but, above all, he had formed the first clubs of the United Irishmen, upon the principle of political freedom and religious toleration. His writings, in which the reader will find most of what has been repeated in so many celebrated speeches of the orators in Parliament, and writers of celebrity since his day, had marked him as one of those whom it was necessary for corruption either to ruin or to gain. When he left his country, he carried with him the confidence of the protestant dissenters of the north of Ireland, and the liberal part of those of the established church, who were then not a few, some of whom were distinguished for their character and talents, and whose spirit revolted at the measures of insult and oppression. From the catholics he received a vote of thanks for services, which no gratitude could overrate, nor remuneration ever pay.

Before we accompany Mr Tone through his adventures in France, we shall give, in his own words, a picture of the misery to which the poor Irish emigrants, flying from the terror and vengeance which drove them from their native shores, were still exposed.

‘ About the 20th of July, some time after we had cleared the banks of Newfoundland, we were stopped by three British frigates, the *Thetis*, Captain Lord Cochrane, the *Hussar*, Captain Rose, and the *Esperance*, Captain Wood, who boarded us, and after treating us with the greatest insolence, both officers and sailors, they pressed every one of our hands, save one, and near fifty of my unfortunate fellow passengers, who were most of them flying to America to avoid the tyranny of a bad government at home, and who thus most unexpectedly fell under the severest tyranny, one of them at least, which exists. As I was in a jacket and trowsers, one of the lieutenants ordered me into the boat as a fit

man to serve the king, and it was only the screams of my wife and sister which induced him to desist. It would have been a pretty termination to my adventures if I had been pressed and sent on board a man of war. . The insolence of these tyrants, as well to myself as to my poor fellow passengers, in whose fate a fellowship in misfortune had interested me, I have not since forgotten, and I never will. At length, after detaining us two days, during which they rummaged us at least twenty times, they suffered us to proceed. Vol. I. p. 130.

On the 1st of January, 1796, he sailed from New York, with letters from the French Minister, Adet, recommending him strongly to his government, and on the first of February he arrived at Havre de Grace.

It may be well imagined what impressions would be made upon the lively and inquiring mind of Tone, by the scenes presented on the first view of a country, whose history, manners, and actual condition, could not but be subjects of eager curiosity. The period at which he arrived, was one pregnant with events; it was that between the horrors of the revolution and the elevation of a single chief to such power, as none had ever before attained in Europe; where a succession of weak, tottering, and corrupted governments had paved the way for that arbitrary, but brilliant conqueror, reformer, and legislator, whose powerful genius has left traces of light behind, and whose fall may serve as a beacon, warning against fatal and self deluding ambition.

From his first arrival in France, our hero lost no occasion of promoting his object. He husbanded his little means, the better to preserve his independence, and he avoided with equal address the artifices of spies, and the no less dangerous society of indiscreet friends. Though often disgusted with the ignorant and preposterous opinions which he had to encounter, his warm enthusiasm never betrayed him into word or deed, that could alienate a friend or create an enemy to his country. It was not by the arts of flattery, however, that he prevailed, but by manly reason and persuasion. Profoundly acquainted with his own country, he was always ready to present such a state of facts, and such enlarged views, as to inspire respect and confidence, till his opinions became the opinions of those, in whose hands was the disposal of power.

His first visit in Paris was to the American Minister, Mr Monroe, who received him very kindly, and was his adviser as

far as his station would warrant. He next made his way to the Minister, De la Croix. By him he was referred to Madgett, of whose agency in the case of Jackson he had previously full knowledge. But finding this person preoccupied with his own impracticable projects, he drew up a memorial to the French government, and soon after was informed that, considering England as invulnerable till separated from Ireland, they were willing to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive, and a treaty of commerce upon principles of mutual advantage. But the succors they were able to offer were, in the view of Tone, far short of the object and the necessity of the case. That his ideas might be better understood, he determined to go to the directory and demand an audience. His first interview with Carnot, then President, and whom he styles 'the organizer of victory,' is thus described.

'Feb. 24.—Went at 12 o'clock in a fright, to the Luxembourg, conning speeches in execrable French all the way. What shall I say to Carnot? Well, "whatsoever the Lord putteth in my mouth, that truly shall I utter." Picked up a spirit as I drew near the palace, and mounted the stairs like a lion. Went into the first bureau that I found open, and demanded at once to see citizen Carnot. The clerks stared a little, but I repeated my demand with a courage truly heroical; on which they instantly submitted, and sent a person to conduct me.' Vol. II. p. 25.

Having thus gained access to the first magistrate of the republic, he showed much sagacity in profiting by it. In this, as in every other communication, he stipulated for perfect independence, and against all interference, in case of success, with the government, which the Irish people might think proper to establish. He insisted upon the necessity of an adequate force, that blood might be spared on every side, and valuable lives saved, of which so many had already been sacrificed; and in two memorials he exhibited the motives of policy, which should induce the greatest possible exertions, and pointed out the best means and measures to be pursued.

But of all with whom he had to treat, he found the greatest difficulty with one, to whom he was referred as best able to judge of his plans, and of the situation and circumstances of Ireland. This person was no other than the General Clarke, afterwards created duke of Feltre, and so conspicuous as minister of war under Napoleon. He was descended from one of the adherents of James the Second, who, after that monarch's

defeat, took refuge in Ireland. All his notions were of the old Jacobite school; and his mind was preoccupied with legends, and traditions, and follies of past times, still looking to the aristocracy of Ireland, as that through which a revolution was to be effected. It required all Tone's command of countenance and temper to reason with him, and make him comprehend the altered spirit and new combinations, that had arisen, particularly since the American and French revolutions. He reminded him, moreover, that in the wars between William and James, the French king, Lewis the Fourteenth, might have separated the two kingdoms; but that partly through his own bad policy, and partly through the interested views of his minister Louvois, he contented himself with feeding the war, little by little, till the opportunity was lost, which France ever since has had reason to regret. To which General Clarke added; that more recently, when the volunteers were in force, and a rupture seemed probable, a proposal to succor Ireland was overruled in the French councils by the interest of the Count de Vergennes, who for that service, he said, had received a considerable bribe from England; and that he, Clarke, had been informed of this by a principal agent in paying the money.

Carnot and Hoche were the two persons, whom Tone most admired and respected. For the latter, under whom he served, and whose entire confidence he possessed, he formed a devoted attachment. That brave general added to his rank of *chef de brigade* that of adjutant general, and made him one of his family during the time he was at Rennes, the head quarters of the army destined for the invasion. There he was near losing that excellent friend, by the attempt of two assassins on his life.

From the low state of the French finances, the disaffection of the marine, and other difficulties, it was not till the month of October, 1796, that General Tone received orders to accompany his chief to Brest. The accounts of the arrest and dangerous situation of many of his political friends in Ireland, made him impatient of every delay, that crossed his hopes of arriving in time for their deliverance. The general entered into his feelings, and strongly urged forward the admiral (Villaret Joyeuse), who still hung back, and was at length cashiered. He was succeeded by Morard de Galles, but with little advantage, as to him was imputed the ultimate defeat of the expedition.

After many obstacles, a force was finally collected of fortythree sail, with 15,000 troops, the flower of the French army, a force in the opinion of General Tone, which many circumstances go to confirm, more than sufficient to effect their purpose. This was a critical period in the history of the British empire. On the 17th of December, 1796, this fleet put to sea; but from the first hour till the last of its ill omened proceedings, the elements conspired with treason, or something as ruinous, to protect England from the consequences of an administration, which boasted of strong measures against its own exasperated subjects, and was utterly powerless and defenceless against the foreign enemy. For more than a fortnight this fleet kept the seas. During a part of that time, the greater portion of it was in the very bay of Bantry, the destined place of landing, but the admiral, with the commander in chief detained on board, never joined; and Grouchy, the second in command, could not be persuaded, till it was too late, to disembark the troops. The long continued storms and violent gales drove the ships from their anchors, and rendered all communication by boats impracticable. The signal being at length given to steer for France, they again entered the waters of Brest, without having seen an enemy.

Those who take pleasure in military histories, will find in the diary of General Tone, during this expedition, a full and particular relation of every occurrence as it arose. In the midst of the disasters that hung upon this enterprise, under circumstances of such agitation, tantalized by the sight of his native land, for which he had done and suffered so much, often within hail, and close by the destined spot of disembarkation, stung with indignation at the misconduct of the admiral, and grief for the absence of Hoche, who was the life of all his hopes, on the rack for the fate of his family and friends, still present to his thoughts, amidst the tempests and the rocking of the stormy waves, we find him firm and self possessed, observing all that passed, and noting it down, with his own comments and reflections, composing new manifestos in place of those remaining with the absent commander, forming plans, making estimates of the still disposable means and force, assisting at councils of war, and swaying, by his discreet and unassuming persuasion, the judgments of his seniors and superiors.

The absence of the blockading squadron, under Admiral Gardner, from before Brest, during the whole time of this

expedition, may perhaps be accounted for by a stratagem of General Hoche. Having learned that his printer was to be bribed for a copy of his anticipated proclamation, he had one addressed to the Portuguese, translated with great show of mystery and secrecy by a priest, who understood their language.

For a month after his return to France, Tone remained in a state of depression, and discontinued his journal, having nothing to say and little inclination to write; but he was soon roused from this stupor by two events, the best calculated to revive his sensibilities, and call forth his energies. The one was a letter from his wife, announcing her arrival with her children at Hamburg, and the other an assurance from General Hoche, that the affair of Ireland was only suspended, and would soon be resumed with new spirit and determination. Having received his arrears of pay, and leave of absence, he proceeded through Holland to join his family and conduct them into France. He met them at Groningen.

The next attempt for the liberation of Ireland was from a quarter not before thought of or suspected. General Hoche had persuaded the government of the Batavian republic to undertake an expedition, and with great generosity, although he had looked to this object as the ground of future fame, he conceded to the Dutch general, Daendels, and to Admiral De Winter, the honor of conducting it. Whatever England had to dread, or Ireland to hope, from the expedition of Bantry bay, this seemed still more formidable, and the circumstances more auspicious to the undertaking. The Irish administration had persisted in what were called strong measures, which are stated to have equalled the worst horrors of the revolution in France; and we fear that we cannot altogether refuse to credit the assertion, that tortures were mercilessly used to extort confessions and denunciations, or to execute punishment or revenge. To believe this without strong evidence would be wrong, but we must doubt too many respectable authorities before we can question these appalling facts. Among the rest we must doubt the veracity of the statements, laid by the Earl of Moira before the English and Irish house of lords, in which these excesses were not denied but justified. They were indemnified by bills of indemnity, as acts of vigor beyond the law. These measures had it seems greatly added to the strength of the revolutionary party, and driven into its ranks

men of high character and great talents. It may justly give us some confidence in any leaning we may have to the side of the rebels, as they were then called, that, fortune having brought many of them to our shores, who, whilst their friends and country lay prostrate, were branded with opprobrious names, and held up to the world as very miscreants, they have since become our fellow citizens and resided amongst us for a quarter of a century, presenting examples of purity, honor, and loyalty, in every action of their lives. If, at a time when their hands and tongues were tied, whilst they lay in dungeons, and every organ of communication was denied, and none dared to vindicate them, advantage was taken of their situation, it is but a fair and honorable duty now to let their true story be told and promulgated far and wide. This is no more than the demand of truth and justice.

It was stated about this time, by a committee of the Irish house of Commons, that there were in the north of Ireland, 100,000 United Irishmen, all of whom were then declared felons by the law, and liable to be hanged and shot. They had eight pieces of cannon, at the least, concealed, one mortar, and a great quantity of other arms. The mutiny in the English fleet had reached the army, and was with time and difficulty appeased by increase of pay to both seamen and soldiers. The public funds were at the lowest state of depression ever known. Hoche pressed the directory; and the minister of the marine in France was now entirely favorable. The Dutch executive council, the generals and admiral, warmly adopted the design, as a means of reviving the drooping honors of their name by an act of high eclat. Stipulations were renewed for the independence of Ireland. The line of battle was appointed, nearly fourteen thousand troops were on board, in high spirits and condition, and the anchors were already weighed. But the fortune of England again prevailed. The wind, which had before been fair, suddenly changed to the southwest, where it continued without intermission for about two months, till the opportunity was lost. The mutiny at Plymouth, Portsmouth, and the Nore was quelled. Admiral Duncan's fleet was augmented by a large reinforcement, and now much exceeded that which was to transport the army to Ireland. The provisions shipped for the use of this army were nearly exhausted. At length the great enterprise was abandoned; minor projects were talked of, and afterwards, in the month of October, the

Dutch fleet was ordered to sea, for what reason, or upon what principle, still remains doubtful. The brave De Winter, after one of the most desperate and hard fought actions of modern times, was defeated by the more fortunate Duncan.

Tone's ensuing journals are written in a spirit of great despondency. The news of the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the death or danger impending over others of his friends, and the terrible sufferings of his country, weighed heavily upon his heart, till his hopes were for a time revived by the formation of a new army, to which he was attached, professedly for the invasion of England, to be commanded by General Bonaparte, then just returned from a victorious campaign in Italy. But in his first conference with that extraordinary personage, he discovered that his design was not to benefit his country. That ambitious chief, the editor and son of Tone observes, had already formed his plan for the conquest of Egypt, and used the name of Ireland and of the 'Army of England' to conceal it.

'He disliked the causes both of Ireland and Poland, as too much connected with the spirit of republicanism and revolution, which he did not wish to encourage; yet the one would have proved the weak point of England and the other of Russia, and he might have kept both powers in check by a frank support of those two oppressed and unfortunate countries. His final downfall, effected by the efforts of England and Russia, seems a kind of retributive justice, and it is remarkable that an Irish minister and an Irish general effected his final overthrow.'

A few months before embarking in the last fatal expedition, there are passages in our hero's journals of a melancholy and prophetic cast.

'The conduct of the English government,' he observes, 'though atrociously wicked, is by no means deficient in system and arrangement. They have begun by seizing almost all the chiefs of the people, and now they draw the sword to anticipate the possibility of resistance, or render them incapable of profiting by it.' 'What miserable slaves are the gentry of Ireland! The only accusation against the United Irishmen is, that they wish to break the connexion with England; in other words, to establish the independence of their country; an object in which surely the men of property are most interested. Yet the very sound of independence seems to have terrified them out of all sense, spirit, or honesty. If they had one drop of Irish blood in their veins, one grain of true courage or genuine patriotism in their hearts, they should have been the first to support this great object. The peo-

ple would have supported them; the English government would never have dared to attempt the measures they have since triumphantly pursued, and continue to pursue; our revolution would have been accomplished without a shock, or, perhaps, one drop of blood spilled.' 'If the United Irishmen succeed, there is no rational man can doubt but that a very short period will suffice to do away the evils inseparable from such a contest; and that in seven years or less, after the independence of Ireland is established, when she can apply all her energy to cultivate her natural resources, her trade, agriculture, and manufactures will be sufficient to indemnify her for the sacrifices with which she will be obliged to purchase her liberty. The example of America is an evidence of this truth.' 'The best that can be said in palliation of the conduct of the English party is, that they are content to sacrifice the liberty of their country to the pleasure of revenge, and their own personal security. They see Ireland only in their rent rolls, their places, their patronage, and their pensions.' 'At least the United Irishmen have a sublime object in view. Their enemies have not yet ventured, in the long catalogue of their accusations, to insert the charge of interested motives. They may be feared and abhorred, but they can never be despised.'

Vol. II. pp. 481—484.

Towards the end of May, Tone was ordered to join General Bethencourt, at Havre, which place the English were bombarding, and he served a month there. His journal closes with bitter reflections upon the sad condition of his country, which had been purposely goaded into open resistance, without any means of supporting the war against the power of the oppressor, except the arms that indignation and despair supplied. Remorseless massacres and bloody executions were sweeping away the lives of the brave, who ventured into the field, and still more of those who remained through terror passive and inactive. Such were the views, such the principles of Theobald Wolfe Tone. That he was honest and sincere, never can be doubted; that he was highly gifted, can be as little questioned; and no true patriot or lover of liberty can contemplate his story with indifference.

The last and most tragical period of his existence is now, after nearly thirty years, given as a sequel to his own autobiography by his son; his materials, as he says, being derived from the public papers, his mother's correspondence, and a few private letters. He draws an imposing picture of the history and character of the times. Refugees from Ireland, of various

descriptions, with their blood boiling with indignation at the scenes they had witnessed and passed through, vehemently entreated for succors, and pressed upon the government of France to make some exertion in favor of those who yet stood out, before the occasion should be lost forever. General Tone was recalled to Paris, to consult with the ministers of the war and navy departments, upon the organization of a new expedition; but those recently arrived, impatient of delay, begged to be only relanded on their own shores with a supply of arms and ammunition to make a last effort for their bleeding country. A brave but thoughtless soldier of fortune, Humbert, fired by their story with a romantic ardor, broke through the rules of command, and with one thousand men, one thousand guineas, and one thousand spare muskets, effected a landing, and succeeded in surprising and defeating the English general, Lake, who had been a signal instrument of the vengeance of the government, and the author of a terrible proclamation some time before. It is said and believed by the younger Tone, from the evidence he has examined, that had this gallant adventurer followed up his success with the same spirit with which he had begun, and advanced rapidly into the country, where there was a denser population and more system, he might have afforded a sufficient rallying point for a rising of the people. But the government, it seems, was more indebted to a right reverend bishop (the bishop of Killalla) than to General Lake for his defeat. This prelate found means to entertain and amuse him, till the viceroy himself (Lord Cornwallis), after putting all the forces in the kingdom in motion, marched against this little band with slow and cautious steps. When encircled by the whole army, they laid down their arms, and the miserable peasants of this wild and desolate quarter, who had joined the standard without order, system, or discipline, and with so little knowledge of fire arms, that they threw them away as incumbrances, were slaughtered without mercy. Two of those who had accompanied Humbert from France, General Tone's brother Matthew, and Bartholomew Teeling, son of a distinguished member of the Catholic committee, were taken to Dublin in irons, and there executed.

On the news of the first victory of Humbert, the small division of General Hardy was sent off with one ship of the line and eight frigates. They encountered adverse winds, and after twenty days' cruise fell in with the fleet of Sir John

Borlase Warren. Whilst the French admiral prepared to do honor to his flag, by a brave though hopeless defence, the French officers supplicated Tone to go on board a frigate, the *Biche*, that had the best chance of escape, and which in fact did escape. His answer was, 'Shall it be said that I fled while the French were fighting the battles of my country?' He was on board the *Hoche* 74, which, surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, sustained, during six hours, the fire of the whole fleet, and did not strike till her scuppers ran with blood, and she floated a dismasted and dismantled wreck upon the waters. Tone commanded a battery, and is reported to have fought like one who courted death. He was landed with the other prisoners, and was with other officers seated at breakfast at the table of Lord Cavan, when he was discovered by an ancient fellow student, Sir George Hill, and hurried from this extremity of the kingdom to the capital, in a most painful situation, fettered and on horseback, and exposed to indignities, which he bore with that loftiness of nature which never forsook him. His noble carriage at his trial, his courageous avowal of his acts and principles, and the affecting tragedy of his death, we leave for the reader, who, if his heart be not steeled, will sigh over the moving tale as we have done. Some future poet may take it for his theme of song; some orator borrow from it inspired thoughts and animated strains; but poetry or eloquence can add but little to the thrilling interest that it possesses.

The reader of the life of Tone will doubtless wish to learn the fate and fortunes of his family. The account given of them by his son is very affecting. He states that his mother, though in a delicate and precarious state of health, a stranger in the land, scarcely speaking the language, and without friend or adviser, having lived in the greatest privacy, rallied a courage and spirit worthy of the name she bore. She first addressed herself to the minister of foreign affairs, who could speak her language, and had known her husband. He entered into her feelings with kind solicitude, and gave her an introduction and strong recommendation to the directory. The Dutch ambassador, M. Schimmelpennick, also assured her that her husband should be claimed by the Batavian republic, in whose service he held the same rank as in the French. She wrote to her friend the brave Admiral De Winter, and to General Kilmaine, the commander in chief of the army in which he served, who also addressed a warm and affectionate letter to the directory.

They determined that hostages should be seized. With all the credentials and means she could desire, she was about to embark in hope of reaching his prison before the fatal stroke. At this moment the news arrived, that she was a widow, and her children fatherless. Her misfortunes excited universal interest. Distinguished and powerful persons, as Talleyrand, Admiral Bruix, and General Kilmaine, proposed to adopt her sons. She was grateful, but preferred trusting to the nation to bestow on them a manly education, rather than have them brought up favorites and dependants in great men's families. This met their approbation and confirmed their esteem. Her lofty spirit could not brook dependence, nor stoop to complaint; and she was reckless of every honor, but the cherished memory of him that was no more, and of every employment but the education of his children. She locked up in her own breast her silent anguish, and gathered under her wing her little brood, to shield them as she could from the farther ills of fate, and taste thenceforth of no delight but that of educating them, and teaching them to be worthy of their father's name. Amongst many tokens of respect paid to his memory, and to her desert, will be found in the Appendix a discourse of unrivalled eloquence, pronounced by Lucien Bonaparte, then president of the council of five hundred.

The editor subjoins, as part of the history of the family after the decease of his father, a true account, from the pen of his mother, of a certain interview with Napoleon. Misrepresentations of this interview had been made in print, and repeated in the Monthly Magazine, accompanied indeed by very liberal and delicate comments. Although the article appears to have been written with no unkind view toward her, and the author was not sparing in compliments, it brought her before the public, in a light, which was to her peculiarly distressing, as having figured in the genteelest circles, when her life had been one of privacy and seclusion, estranged from every scene of gaiety, devoted to one only object, the care and education of her children. It is not therefore surprising, that this should have drawn from her a few strong expressions of her wounded feelings; *'for grief,'* to use her own words, *'is proud, and makes its owner stout.'* But however admirable such qualities may be, we prefer those specimens of female eloquence, when the soul, softened by the tender influences of nature, breathes forth the gentler accents of piety and love, and above all a mother's

love. In this narrative of simple truth, extorted from a widowed mother, are not wanting attractive and moving descriptions of this kind.

These volumes are closed with a memoir, containing a brief narrative of Captain Tone's services in the light cavalry and staff, until he emigrated from France to the United States, after the battle of Waterloo. It describes in a vivid manner the enthusiasm, buoyant dispositions, hardships, sufferings, and mode of living of that army, so long the terror of Europe. The battle of Leipsic, and the horrors which overspread the field and hung upon the French in their retreat, are the more impressive from the simplicity of the narration. This young officer, after much hardship and many wounds during three campaigns, resigned his commission upon the fall of his great chief, and renounced the prospects of advancement that were still open to him. He brought with him many and high testimonials of his merit, and is now employed in the service of this country, and settled with his mother near the seat of government. He married the daughter of Mr William Sampson, who was the early friend of his father, and many years ago, in his memoirs, published in this country, celebrated his virtues, and paid an affectionate tribute of respect and esteem to her, who had shared his fortunes when living, and by her faithful performance of every duty during a long widowhood, sustained the honor of his name and family.

ART. IV.—*Commentaries on American Law.* By JAMES KENT. Volume I. New York. O. Halsted. 1826. 8vo. pp. 508.

IN the accustomed security of a well regulated community we meet with but few occurrences to remind us of the influence of the laws that are blended in all our transactions, safely conducting us in the crossings and windings of our diverse pursuits, and being ever present to our persons and rights with a vigilant guard and sure protection. Law, in its broadest acceptance, cannot be better described than in the well known passage of Hooker, where he says, 'Of law no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is in the bosom of God; her voice, the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and

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earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power.' The kindly guardianship of the municipal laws, and the obedience and reverence due to them, are nowhere more persuasively and beautifully illustrated than in Plato's account of the last scenes of the life of Socrates; where that philosopher, being urged by Crito to avail himself of the means provided for his escape into Thessaly from the execution of the unjust sentence of death passed against him by the Athenians, refuses to fly unless Crito can show it to be consistent with his obligations to the laws, which he introduces as reasoning with him on the proposed escape, reminding him of all the benefits they had conferred upon him, and expostulating with him on the ingratitude of disobeying and bringing reproach upon them, by escaping from even the unjust sentence of death passed against him. Plato finds much to admire and venerate even in laws liable to be capriciously altered and tyrannically administered by an Athenian mob. The old poets and historians are full of eulogies of lawgivers, as among the greatest benefactors of mankind, and similar praise is due to those who reform the laws or their administration, or make them better known, by rendering a knowledge of them more accessible and easy of attainment. Of all sciences or works of human genius, none is more admirable to contemplate, or instructive to study, than a skilfully contrived, well administered system of laws, conferring upon rulers all the necessary powers, and only those, with the requisite counterpoises, checks, and limitations; confining each to his own sphere; distinctly explaining to the citizens their rights and duties in their multiplied and almost numberless relations among themselves and to the government; offering large encouragement to arts, industry, intellectual efforts, and public spirit; and arraying all the moral and physical power of the community on the side of the general welfare, and in defence of the rights and possessions of each individual member. The searching, all pervading power, and sleepless vigilance of the law, bring to light deeds done in secret and darkness, and reclaim and punish offenders for offences committed in the remotest parts of the sea.

But all laws are not good, and good laws are not always well administered. Though the great moral principles more or less aimed at in every body of laws, are themselves unrepalable and unalterable, and remain ever fixed and shining in

the centre of the system, their brightness is too often obscured and eclipsed by the opaque bodies of legislators, and judges, and ministers of the law, interposed. Doctrines are promulgated, armies are raised, and fleets equipped, sometimes to vindicate, but sometimes to violate, the broad, everlasting principles, on which all laws and administrations of law profess to be founded. Legislators, forgetful of the general welfare, declare for law the dictates of a sinister private interest, or a vindictive party spirit. It sometimes happens that what they put forth as oracles of wisdom, bear too much resemblance to riddles, published, like those of the Sphinx, for the destruction of such as get entangled in their interpretation. Though the promotion of the general good, and the protection of private rights, are most commonly the real objects of legislation, yet instances are not wanting in which grave legislative assemblies solemnly decree public calamities, and private wrongs and injustice.

Besides the disorders infecting, in a greater or less degree, every body of laws, evils no less numerous or grievous are incident to their administration. The counsellor to whom you apply, may himself need the advice he professes to give, and conduct you to the proverbial end of the journey of the blind led by the blind; or if not ignorant, he may be dishonest, and make your distress his own opportunity. It will be little consolation to you that your judge is not corrupt, if, like a certain visiter at St Paul's cathedral, he is mazed amid the grandeur, and lost in the windings, cross avenues, and blind passages of the temple of justice in which he is a minister, until he comes to be like so many of the inhabitants of Nineveh, who did not know their right hand from their left. Or if he does not hear without being able to judge, he may judge without waiting to hear, be precipitate, opinionative, ready to decide from prejudice or favor, and instead of searching for grounds to form an opinion, may only search for arguments to defend one already formed. The judges may be appointed from party considerations, or popular or other influence foreign to their qualifications; and so the court, being little skilled in the laws, or the rights of parties, and not capable to decide according to the strength of the case, must be decided by the influence and skill of the parties and advocates, and instead of ruling the strife, be itself the prize for which the parties contend, as a weak prince, in a divided kingdom, gives the victory to the party that makes him prisoner.

If we add to all this, the mistakes and perjury of witnesses, the corruption, inattention, and ignorance of jurors, we shall not be surprised to find that the best laws are sometimes warped and perverted in their practical application, and that, under their best administration, the suitors sometimes prove the difference between a decision by lot and by law, to consist mainly in the expense.

The instances of imperfections and abuses that hover about legislation and legal administration, and strew their train with the ruins of the public prosperity and private property and rights, are too often present to our minds, and serve too much to degrade the law in our estimation; for if we revert to the great mass of rights protected under even an imperfect system of laws indifferently administered, though we may not carry our veneration to the length of voluntarily surrendering life in compliance with an unjust sentence pronounced by a capricious tribunal, still we shall find much to admire in the silent and salutary operation of the laws. At least we cannot but perceive that our possessions, and whatever is admirable and useful in a community, can subsist and last only through the vital energies of the laws; and it therefore behoves us to know something of them; and we owe our thanks for the labors that bring this knowledge more within our reach. Of this description is the work under consideration, professing to embody in a small compass the elements of the law of nations, and of the municipal laws of the United States.

Every part of the volume bears striking traces of the author's learning, and accuracy, and shows a masterly freedom in handling the subject; the first part, however, on the law of nations, is treated with greater elegance and neatness, and, from the nature of the subject, is the most easy and interesting in perusal. In comparison with any similar treatise, it has very considerable novelty, as it embodies, with the doctrines of former works on international law, an abstract of the numerous very learned and able opinions delivered within the last thirty years in the courts of the United States and Great Britain; in mentioning which a just tribute is rendered to the reputation of the present judge of the British High Court of Admiralty.

‘The great value of a series of judicial decisions, in prize cases, and on other questions depending on the law of nations, is, that they liquidate, and render certain and stable, the loose general principles of that law, and show their application, and how they

are understood in the country where the tribunals are sitting. They are, therefore, deservedly received with very great respect, and as presumptive, though not conclusive evidence of the law in the given case. This was the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, so late as 1815, and the decisions of the English High Court of Admiralty, especially since the year 1798, have been consulted and uniformly respected by that court, as enlightened commentaries on the law of nations, and affording a vast variety of instructive precedents for the application of the principles of that law. They have also this to recommend them; that they are preeminently distinguished for sagacity, wisdom, and learning, as well as for the chaste and classical beauties of their composition.' pp. 67, 68.

'The most popular, and the most elegant writer on the law of nations, is Vattel, whose method has been greatly admired. He has been cited, for the last half century, more freely than any one of the public jurists; but he is very deficient in philosophical precision. His topics are loosely, and often tediously and diffusively discussed, and he is not sufficiently supported by the authority of precedents, which constitute the foundation of the positive law of nations. There is no one work which combines, in just proportions, and with entire satisfaction, an accurate and comprehensive view of the necessary and of the instituted law of nations, and in which principles are sufficiently supported by argument, authority, and examples. Since the age of Grotius, the code of war has been vastly enlarged and improved, and its rights better defined, and its severities greatly mitigated. The rights of maritime capture, the principles of the law of prize, and the duties and privileges of neutrals, have grown into very important titles in the system of national law. We now appeal to more accurate, more authentic, more precise, and more commanding evidence of the rules of public law, by a reference to the decisions of those tribunals, to whom, in every country, the administration of that branch of jurisprudence is specially intrusted. We likewise appeal to the official documents and ordinances of particular states, which have professed to reduce into a systematic code for the direction of their own tribunals, and for the information of foreign powers, the law of nations, on those points which relate particularly to the rights of commerce, and the duties of neutrality.' p. 18.

While we recollect the injuries done to our neutral commerce by the European belligerents from 1802 down to our declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, with all the complaints, animosities, and collisions, which led to that declaration, it is gratifying to find that as far as the same questions, relating to neutral rights, have come before the judicial tribunals of the two countries, the decisions generally coincide, and

are cited together page after page, in this treatise, in support of the same doctrines ; a coincidence, which cannot but strengthen the confidence of each nation in the judicial tribunals of the other, while it affords a pleasing illustration of the uniformity and certainty of the practical operation of the law of nations. Chancellor Kent mentions but a single instance of diversity of decision in the two countries upon a point of any importance. This was in the case of a shipment of neutral goods on board of an armed belligerent cruiser, whereby, in the opinion of Lord Stowell, the neutral character of the goods was forfeited. (*The Fanny*, 1 Dodson, 443.) The Supreme Court of the United States, on the other hand, held this not to be a forfeiture of neutral character, even though the vessel should make resistance, provided the neutral shipper did not contribute to the expenses of the armament, otherwise than by paying freight. (*The Nereide*, 9 Cranch, 388.) The reason given by Lord Stowell in support of his opinion is, that the neutral 'showed an intention to resist visitation and search.' But cases might occur in which goods would be shipped on board of an armed belligerent vessel for want of any other. Besides, it might be said with as much reason, perhaps, that a neutral ships on board of an unarmed belligerent with the intention of escaping from search, and yet if he should so ship, with this specific purpose, no court would hold this to be a forfeiture of neutral character.

An act of Congress, of 1790, declares every offence committed at sea to be piracy, which if committed on land would be punished with death. By the act of May, 1820, 'If any citizen of the United States, being of the crew of a foreign vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person, being one of the crew of a vessel owned or fitted out in the United States, who shall land on any foreign shore and seize any negro or mulatto, with intent to make him a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring him on board with like intent, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and suffer death.' These acts enlarge the description of piracy, but they can operate, as indeed the last is intended to do, only on citizens of the United States; for no nation can alter the law of nations except so far as its own consent and practice may concur with those of other nations, and go to make a general usage. Piracy being an offence against the law of nations, its description and punishment must be regulated by that law, and the giving this

name to any other crime in a statute, is only a misapplication of the word.

A large portion of this volume is occupied with the constitutional laws and jurisprudence of the United States, in which the author has given a concise, clear, and well arranged compendium of all the questions of this sort, made subjects of judicial discussion and decision since the adoption of the constitution. He commences with a sketch of the articles of confederation, to the defects of which and the embarrassments of the government in administering the affairs of the nation under such an imperfect organization, we are indebted for a better constitution than the states would otherwise have consented to adopt. A short history is then given of the adoption of the constitution, the most striking features of which are portrayed in a masterly manner, illustrated with abstracts of all the important judicial constructions of that instrument. On the subject of the choice of the president, the author says ;

‘ The mode of his appointment presented one of the most difficult and momentous questions that could have occupied the deliberations of the assembly which framed the constitution ; and if ever the tranquillity of this nation is to be disturbed, and its peace jeopardized, by a struggle for power among themselves, it will be upon this very subject of the choice of a president. This is the question that is eventually to test the goodness, and try the strength of the constitution ; and if we shall be able, for half a century hereafter, to continue to elect the chief magistrate of the union with discretion, moderation, and integrity, we shall undoubtedly stamp the highest value on our national character, and recommend our republican institutions, if not to the imitation, yet certainly to the esteem and admiration of the more enlightened part of mankind.’ pp. 255, 256.

The election of the chief magistrate has agitated, and will doubtless again agitate our political system, and if it shall, at some time, be coupled with sectional questions, in which the conflicting passions and interests of the different parts of the country shall be deeply engaged, it may be the immediate occasion of the disruption of the Union. But it must be a stronger motive, and a more homefelt interest, than merely the bestowing the office upon the favorite candidate of either party. It must be the breaking out of long fomented passions, and accumulated injuries, jealousies, and irritations. Attachment to the confederation, and a feeling that the strength, security, and prosperity of the states, depend upon maintaining the

integrity of the union, are daily growing deeper and stronger in all parts of the country, and becoming a fixed sentiment, that is to be admitted and acted upon at all times. And though we are apt to overrate the improvements in knowledge, virtue, or skill, from generation to generation, yet it can hardly be doubted that men do better understand the science of government, and are better instructed in its administration, than they have been heretofore ; and as far as any such improvement has been made, it will be powerfully auxiliary to our institutions.

A great difficulty in our own, as well as all other free governments, is to apportion the powers and jurisdictions so that they may duly counterpoise and mutually check each other, without confusion or collision. As the legislation and judicial administration of the United States, always border upon those of the several states, and are often blended with them by a concurrence of application to the same subjects and parties, it is a delicate and difficult office to disentangle the one from the other, and define their respective boundaries. Some questions on this subject have, for a time, disturbed the harmony of our government, and even threatened its stability. But fortunately most of these questions are brought in the first place before the judicial tribunals, and thus being far removed from all rash and violent proceedings, are made the subjects of elaborate investigation and solemn decision. Accordingly, as long as the Supreme Court of the United States shall continue to be an august tribunal of judges, holding their offices by a permanent and independent tenure, and the courts of the more powerful states shall be of a similar character, the jarings between the general and state jurisdictions, both in legislation and jurisprudence, are likely to terminate as they have hitherto terminated, in marking more definitely their respective limitations, and in proving, as well as adding to, the strength of our political institutions. Under all governments, the civil power acts directly upon the subjects, in most instances, through the judicial tribunals, and all the laws become tinged with the character of those tribunals ; but in the United States, and in many of the states, the political organization is such, that the judiciary imparts much of its spirit and character to the legislative and executive branches of the government. These tribunals are the central links which bind together our whole political system, and being once broken, the whole system must fall to ruin.

We will follow Chancellor Kent in his recapitulation of the principal cases of concurrent and contested jurisdiction and powers under the general and state governments, as far as they have been made the subjects of judicial discussion and decision. Under the provision of the constitution as it was originally adopted, giving the Supreme Court jurisdiction of suits against a state by citizens of other states or foreigners, a number of suits were early commenced, and among them one against the state of Georgia, in which, however, that state, though it employed counsel, refused to have any appearance made in behalf of the state, whereby the jurisdiction of the court might be acknowledged. On a motion of plaintiff's attorney for a writ of inquiry of damages, the judges went very elaborately into the consideration of the question of the jurisdiction of the court, four of them being of opinion that the court had jurisdiction; from which opinion Mr Justice Iredell dissented.

‘But the states were not willing to submit to be arraigned as defendants before the federal courts, at the instance of private persons, be the cause of action what it may. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Chisholm versus The State of Georgia*, decided in 1793, in which it was adjudged, that a state was sueable by citizens of another state, gave much dissatisfaction, and the legislature of Georgia carried their opposition to an open defiance of the judicial authority. The inexpediency of the power appeared so great that Congress, in 1794, proposed to the states an amendment to that part of the constitution, and it was subsequently amended in this particular under the provision in the fifth article. It was declared by the amendment, that the judicial power of the United States should not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.’

p. 278.

Upon a case coming up from a Virginia court, a question arose as to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States.

‘In the case of *Fairfax versus Hunter*, a writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States, was awarded to the Court of Appeals of Virginia, upon a judgment in that court against the right claimed under a construction of the treaties made with Great Britain in 1783 and 1794, and the judgment of the Court of Appeals was reversed, and the cause remanded, and the Court of

Appeals below were required to cause the original judgment which had been reversed in that court, to be carried into due execution. The Court of Appeals, when the cause came back to them, resolved that the appellate power of the Supreme Court of the United States did not extend to that court, and that so much of the act of Congress as extended the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to that court, was not warranted by the constitution; and that the proceedings in the Supreme Court were *coram non judice* in relation to that court, and they, consequently, declined obedience to its mandate. A writ of error was awarded upon this refusal, and the cause came up again before the Supreme Court of the United States.' pp. 296, 297.

'The Supreme Court, by a train of reasoning which appears to be unanswerable and conclusive, came to the decision, that the appellate power of the United States did extend to cases pending in the state courts, and that the 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, authorizing the exercise of this jurisdiction in the specified cases by a writ of error, was supported by the letter and spirit of the constitution. The judgment of the Court of Appeals in Virginia, rendered on the mandate in the cause, and denying the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, was consequently reversed, and the judgment of the District Court in Virginia, which the Court of Appeals in Virginia had reversed, was affirmed.'

p. 300.

The case of the United States *versus* Judge Peters, 5 Cranch, 115, occurred in 1809, on a cause of action occurring as early as 1778, respecting the proceeds of a captured ship and cargo, claimed by the state of Pennsylvania, but awarded to other claimants by the committee of appeals in the Congress under the old confederation; and the proceeds of the prize had in the mean time remained in the hands of stake holders. In 1803, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act requiring the governor to direct the attorney general of the state to apply to the stake holders, and 'require them forthwith to pay the monies by them received, into the treasury of that commonwealth, and in default thereof, to direct the said attorney general to bring a suit in the name of the commonwealth, in the proper court of the commonwealth, against the said E. S. and E. W. [the stake holders] for the monies aforesaid;' 'to proceed as speedily,' &c. 'and that the governor be authorized and required, and he is hereby authorized and required, to protect the just rights of the state, in respect to the premises, by any further means and measures that he may deem neces-

sary for the purpose, and to protect the persons and properties of E. S. and E. W. from any process whatever, issued out of any federal court in consequence of their obedience to the requisition aforesaid directed to be made to them by the attorney general.' The stake holders accordingly paid the monies into the treasury of the state, on receiving a bond of indemnity; but the Supreme Court of the United States ordered the district judge of the United States in Pennsylvania, to issue execution in favor of the other claimants against the stake holders.

In the case of *McKim versus Voorhies*, 7 Cranch, 279, it appears that a Kentucky court, under a law of that state, of 1807, issued an injunction to stop the proceedings in a case in the Circuit Court of the United States for that district, and the clerk of that court, having notice of the injunction, hesitated to issue an execution upon a judgment rendered in that court. The question coming before the Supreme Court of the United States, it was ruled that the Circuit Court should order its clerk to issue the execution.

A question somewhat similar has arisen on the operation of the Kentucky *stop laws*, as they are called; a species of law whereby the legislature enacts that private contracts shall not be binding, and that another contract shall be substituted for the one made by the parties. They are also called 'relief laws,' from the circumstance of their relieving men from their legal obligations. They are a species of political nostrum that aggravate the disorder intended to be remedied; which have however been resorted to in many instances under the colonial governments, and since the revolution, in those cases which cannot be relieved by any treatment, and are better left entirely to the constitutional energies of the patient. By one of these laws passed in Kentucky, it was provided, among other things, that a judgment debtor might tender a certain description of Kentucky bank paper, in satisfaction of the execution. In *Weymouth versus Southard*, 10 Wheaton, 1, the question came before the Supreme Court of the United States, whether this state law was applicable to an execution issued upon a judgment recovered in a court of the United States in the district of Kentucky.

'It was decided, that Congress had exclusive authority to regulate proceedings and executions in the federal courts, and that the states had no authority to control such process; and, therefore, executions by *fieri facias* in the federal courts, were not

subject to the checks created by the new Kentucky statute. It was, in that case, further observed, that the forms of execution, and other process in the federal courts, in suits at common law, except modes of proceeding, were to be the same as used in September, 1789, in the supreme courts of the states, subject only to alterations and additions by Congress, and by the federal courts, but not to alterations since made in the state laws and practice.⁷
p. 370.

This decision, and some others of the Supreme Court, have given great dissatisfaction to some of the people of Kentucky, and provoked much virulent declamation against the court itself. During the late session of Congress, some member intimated that a judicial tyranny was secretly creeping in upon us ; and, if we rightly remember the tenor of his discourse, we are to suppose that the venerable Chief Justice Marshall is little other than a Dionysius the Second, who uses the court as a whispering gallery, for discovering subjects upon whom to exercise his tyranny and cruelty. But notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, we verily believe that the citizens, excepting those few who are afraid justice may be done them, feel their persons and rights almost as safe in the hands of the Supreme Court of the United States, as in those of some of the states. But to proceed with our subject.

In *McCulloch versus The State of Maryland*, 4 Wheaton, 316, it appears that a law of that state required all banking institutions in the state to use a particular species of paper for their bank notes, and also imposed a tax upon banks within the state. Mr McCulloch, the cashier of the branch bank of the United States in Baltimore, had issued notes of that bank on paper different from that prescribed in the Maryland act. A suit was accordingly instituted against him in a Maryland court, to recover the penalty supposed to be incurred under the state act ; and the case being carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, opened for discussion the whole question of the power of a state to tax the bank of the United States, or otherwise obstruct its operations. It was decided that the state could not in this case recover either the tax or the penalty, under the state act.

In *Osborn versus The Bank of the United States*,⁹ Wheaton, 316, a similar question occurred, respecting a tax on a branch of the same bank, in the state of Ohio. The officer of the state, under a warrant of the state treasurer, and in pursuance

of the particular directions of the state law, seized upon specie and bank notes, in the vaults of the bank, to a large amount, to satisfy the tax, and paid the same into the state treasury. But the Supreme Court of the United States, in this, as in the former case, held the state law, as far as it was intended to apply to the bank of the United States, to be unconstitutional and void, and consequently to afford no protection to those who acted under it, who were therefore held to be answerable to the bank of the United States for the money or other property taken.

An interesting question occurred in *Cohens versus Virginia*, 6 Wheaton, 264, relative to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States in a case to which a state is a party. Some tickets of a lottery granted by Congress in the district of Columbia, had been sold by Cohens in Virginia, where a law was in force prohibiting the sale of tickets of any lottery not granted by that state. Cohens was indicted and convicted, and judgment was given against him in the Virginia courts, for the penalty under the state law. The case was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States by writ of error. Here, then, was a case in which a state was a party, and the amendment of the constitution had withdrawn from the Supreme Court of the United States jurisdiction of suits against a state; and yet if a state could thus exclude the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, it might, by enacting statutes with penalties, utterly exclude the jurisdiction of the national courts, and stop the administration of the laws of the United States. The Supreme Court, however, decided that a case arising under the constitution, treaties, or laws of the United States, came within their jurisdiction, whoever might be the parties. Chancellor Kent says, 'The constitutional authority of the appellate jurisdiction was vindicated with great strength of argument and clearness of illustration,' and it was the opinion of the court that the law granting the lottery, being a law of the United States, could not be obstructed by the laws of any state.

In *Diggs and Keith versus Wolcott*, 4 Cranch, 179, it was held generally, without any reasons being assigned for the opinion, that the courts of the United States have no authority to enjoin parties not to proceed in a state court. Chancellor Kent says, 'This decision is not to be doubted;' and cites the case of *Kennedy versus The Earl of Cassilis*, 2 Swanston,

330, in which Lord Eldon had granted an injunction in the English Court of Chancery to restrain a party from proceeding in the Court of Sessions in Scotland, where the parties were domiciled. It was admitted that the Court of Sessions was a court of competent jurisdiction, and was an independent foreign tribunal, subject, however, like the Court of Chancery, in England, to an appeal to the House of Lords. It was urged, that if chancery could in this way restrain proceedings in the sessions, the sessions might equally enjoin proceedings in chancery, and thus all proceedings in either court would be stopped. Lord Eldon said, 'he never meant to go further with the injunction than the property in England, and, on motion, he dissolved it *in toto*.' Without entering into the argument, it seems to us however, that the cases are not precisely parallel. The English Court of Chancery has no appellate jurisdiction over the Scotch Court of Sessions, whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has appellate jurisdiction over the state courts in certain cases. An injunction from the House of Lords would have been more similar. Nor does the general question appear to us to be so plain, that the decision in *Diggs versus Wolcott*, the grounds of which are not stated, ought to be of great weight.

A class of important cases has arisen under the provision of the constitution that no state shall pass any laws impairing the obligation of contracts.

'The case of *Fletcher versus Peck*, 6 Cranch, 87, first brought this prohibitory clause into discussion. The legislature of Georgia, by an act of 1795, authorized the sale of a large tract of land, and a grant was made by letters patent in pursuance of that act, to a number of individuals under the name of the Georgia Company. The legislature, by an act of 1796, declared the preceding act to be void, as being founded in corruption.' pp. 387, 388.

The Supreme Court of the United States were of opinion, however, that

'When a law was in its nature a contract, and absolute rights have vested under that contract, a repeal of the law would not divest those rights, nor impair the title so acquired.' p. 388.

Under the same clause decisions have been made relating to the state bankrupt laws, and finally,

'In the great case of *Dartmouth College versus Woodward*, the inhibition upon the states to impair the obligation of contracts received the most elaborate discussion and the most instructive

application.' 'The argument of the Supreme Court in this celebrated case, contains one of the most elaborate discussions of the constitutional sanctity of contracts to be met with in any of the reports. The decision in that case did more than any other single act, proceeding from the authority of the United States, to throw an impregnable barrier around all rights and franchises derived from the grant of government, and to give solidity and inviolability to the literary, charitable, religious, and commercial institutions of our country.' p. 389, 392.

The subject of the monopoly of steamboat navigation in the state of New York, granted by the legislature of that state to Livingston and Fulton, is treated somewhat at length by Chancellor Kent, and the final decision of that question by the Supreme Court of the United States, does not meet his entire acquiescence. As far, however, as the case turned upon the constitution, or the constitutional right of Congress 'to regulate commerce among the states,' he says there was a perfect coincidence of opinion in the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of New York. It is admitted that Congress was authorized by the constitution to pass an act protecting a coasting vessel passing, as was the steamboat in the case in question, from one state, to any part of another, from interruption or restraint from the laws or authorities of the state to which, or through any part of which, she might be passing. Though Chancellor Kent thinks some expressions used by the judges of the Supreme Court in their opinions, are a little broader than the principles assumed by them will bear out, yet as far as the case then under consideration went, there was, in his view, no constitutional question in dispute between the Supreme Court and the legislature and courts of New York. The Supreme Court of the United States were of opinion that the act of Congress respecting the coasting trade, whereby Congress made provision for granting 'a license to carry on the coasting trade,' did in fact authorize vessels properly qualified and licensed to carry on that trade without interruption from the state laws and regulations, except the health laws, inspection laws, &c. or, in other words, without being liable to be required by any state to take out a new license. But the Chancellor seems to consider the coasting act to be merely prohibitory, providing that no other than vessels licensed under that act could carry on the coasting trade; but until some new act of Congress should be passed, it must de-

pend on the regulations of the state laws, whether a vessel so licensed should be authorized to carry on the coasting trade. According to this construction, the states might, by a course of what Mr Webster calls 'belligerent legislation,' grant monopolies of navigation, whether by steam, sails, or oars, in each state, to particular persons, and thus each state absolutely prohibiting coasting navigation in its waters to all vessels except those owned by the monopolists, all coasting trade would have been at an end between and among the states, or from one state to another, until Congress should have passed some act controlling and superseding these laws of the states; a doctrine which would certainly be very inconvenient in practice.

Chancellor Kent says, 'The only great point on which the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of New York have differed, is in the construction and effect given to a coasting license.' p. 411. And yet he says, 'It has always appeared to me, that some of the doctrines and expositions of the court would carry the powers of the general government, by construction, to a greater extent over the residuary claims and assumed rights of the states, than any decision which had hitherto been made.' p. 409. In short, though he speaks very respectfully of the Supreme Court of the United States, the author does not fully acquiesce in their decision, but labors to vindicate the opinions which he himself, and the other judges in New York had given on the same questions. This is very natural; and every man in the community has a right to suggest doubts of the correctness of any decision of any court in the country, and to offer arguments in opposition to them, and few men in the United States can give greater weight of authority to their opinions and arguments. But we should have been more gratified had we met this vindication in some other place than an elementary treatise professedly intended as a book of instruction. And notwithstanding all the arguments to the contrary, we cannot but think that the whole tenor and implication of the provisions in the act of Congress respecting the coasting trade, suppose and take for granted that the vessels licensed under that act shall have the privilege of carrying on the coasting trade among the several states; for the very provision that no other vessels shall carry on the coasting trade, is equivalent to a provision that these vessels shall have that privilege.

These are the principal cases in which the legislative and judicial administration of the government of the United States have come in collision, or been entangled with those of the states. Some of these questions are of vital importance, and if the constitution had not authorized these decisions of the Supreme Court, the government of the country must have been brought to a stand, and the present constitution would have been little better than the articles of the old confederation; and the country can never be too grateful to those judges who have, with so much dignity, impartiality, and firmness, and so learnedly, ably, and laboriously, applied the principles and provisions of the constitution and laws to the many difficult and embarrassing cases that have arisen. While such shall be the administration of the laws, we may continue to be proud of our political institutions, but no longer; for it is quite apparent that an able and independent judiciary is the palladium of our institutions; and those persons who are assailing this part of our government, are, some of them, perhaps, intentionally, but more, no doubt, unwittingly, aiming their blows at the vital part of our civil polity.

It has been represented by some writers, that our frame of government is very simple, and one that a schoolboy may master when he is able to read the constitution of his own state and that of the United States. The questions and discussions we have been considering show, that any such notion can be entertained only by persons very superficially acquainted with the constitution and laws. We are wont to boast of our government as free, and very justly, but we refer that freedom too much to the mere circumstance of the popular election of the rulers, and we fall too readily into the notion that every other country would be as well governed as ours, were the rulers similarly elected; not considering that history is full of examples of changeable, capricious, and tyrannical laws, and atrocious abuses of power, in governments as popularly constituted as our own. One species of freedom enjoyed in this country consists in the perfect equality of all political and civil rights; no one being politically disqualified from aspiring to, and none being, in preference, politically privileged to aspire to, any honor or power in the gift of the community or the government. But, after all, whatever name you give the government, the main question, with the great mass of the community, relates to the laws or rules of conduct, whereby their

actions and rights are to be regulated. If the laws are wisely framed and well administered, with some political guaranty of their continuing to be so, the government is a good one. Laws to be good must be certain, and rights to be enjoyed and vindicated must be defined and known. In our constitution we have a sufficient guaranty that public opinion will always be consulted; so it was at Athens, and yet no man's person or rights were safe in that republic. To make this of any avail, it is necessary that this opinion should be guided by some intelligence and discretion; it must also have convenient instruments and organs by which to operate; legislatures, judicial tribunals, executive, military, and civil officers, whose powers and functions must all be justly apportioned and clearly limited and defined. No government is a good one in which all the powers and rights of the rulers and the ruled are not well assigned and well understood. In the United States, every citizen is a subject of two governments, that are, in some measure, independent of each other. To settle the boundaries of these two governments, and then to adjust all the powers, rights, and relations under each, though it may not require a scheme of government so complicated as that of the Germanic confederacy, yet certainly cannot be done by some simple plan conceived without labor, and that may be understood without study, and explained and applied without doubt or difficulty. Such a system must be in some measure complicated; and we apprehend that no good government can be very simple in its structure.

The remaining part of this volume is occupied with a general account of the sources of municipal law, namely, statutes, the common law, and the civil law. The English reports, and earlier treatises and digests being the fountains of knowledge of the common law, constitute the subject of two lectures, in which the author gives a cursory sketch of those of greatest authority and most frequent reference. The outline of these works is, as might be expected from a man who has spent so great a part of his life in perusing and consulting them, very just, and will be very useful to the student in directing his studies. Perhaps one exception ought to be made, for it seems to us the author somewhere gives too high a character of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, whom we have not been accustomed to rank among the most accurate, learned, and profound lawyers.

Respecting the authority of the courts to decide upon the constitutionality of a law, the author makes the following remarks ;

‘The principle in the English government, that the Parliament is omnipotent, does not prevail in the United States. In this, and all other countries where there is a written constitution, designating the powers and duties of the legislative, as well as of the other departments of the government, an act of the legislature may be void as being against the constitution. It must conform, in the first place, to the constitution of the United States, and then to the subordinate constitution of its own state, and if it infringes the provisions of either, it is so far void. The courts of justice have a right, and are in duty bound, to bring every law to the test of the constitution, and to regard the constitution, first of the United States, and then of their own state, as the paramount or supreme law, to which every inferior or derivative power and regulation must conform. The constitution is the act of the people, speaking in their original character, and defining the permanent conditions of the social alliance ; and there can be no doubt on the point with us, that every act of the legislative power, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the constitution, is absolutely null and void. The judicial department is the proper power in the government to determine whether a statute be or be not constitutional. The interpretation or construction of the constitution, is as much a judicial act, and requires the exercise of the same legal discretion, as the interpretation or construction of a law. To contend that the courts of justice must obey the requisitions of an act of the legislature, when it appears to them to have been passed in violation of the constitution, would be to contend, that the law was superior to the constitution, and that the judges had no right to look into it, and to regard it as the paramount law.’ pp. 420, 421.

After recapitulating the several earlier cases on this question, Chancellor Kent says,

‘The power and duty of the judiciary to disregard an unconstitutional act of Congress, or of any state legislature, were declared in an argument approaching to the precision and certainty of a mathematical demonstration.

‘The question, said the chief justice, was, whether an act, repugnant to the constitution, can become a law of the land, and it was one deeply interesting to the United States. The powers of the legislature are defined and limited by a written constitution. But to what purpose is that limitation, if those limits may at any time be passed ? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not

confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed, are of equal obligation. If the constitution does not control any legislative act repugnant to it, then the legislature may alter the constitution by an ordinary act. The theory of every government, with a written constitution, forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, must be, that an act of the legislature repugnant to the constitution is void. If void, it cannot bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect; for this would be to overthrow, in fact, what was established in theory, and to make that operative as law which is not law. It is the province and the duty of the judicial department, to say what the law is; and if two laws conflict with each other, to decide on the operation of each. So if the law be in opposition to the constitution, and both apply to a particular case, the court must either decide the case conformably to the law, disregarding the constitution, or conformably to the constitution, disregarding the law. If the constitution be superior to an act of the legislature, the courts must decide between these conflicting rules, and how can they close their eyes on the constitution and see only the law?' pp. 424, 425.

This doctrine has been sometimes doubted, and remarked upon with asperity, by the more superficial and less experienced legislators. But since every citizen is entitled to the protection and privileges guarantied by the constitutions of the United States and the states, he has a right to demand that the courts in applying the laws to his person, his property, or his interests, should be controlled and guided by those constitutions. And what renders the contrary doctrine absolutely impracticable is, that the Congress and the states may pass, and in fact in some instances have passed, laws inconsistent with each other, and therefore, if the courts could not look beyond the law into the constitution, but were bound to accept as constitutional and valid whatever the Congress or state legislatures might enact, this would not only deprive the citizens of the benefit and protection of the constitutions, but would also involve the judicial tribunals in the absurdity of applying and administering inconsistent and contradictory propositions.

The extracts we have made sufficiently illustrate the general style of the execution of this work, and would, of themselves, be a sufficient recommendation of its character, if any other recommendation were needed than the reputation of the author. We have noticed a few instances of defectively constructed sentences, on pages 122, 142, and 163, which would be less

worthy of notice, were not the work intended more particularly for readers of the younger class in the profession ; they would, however, be blemishes in any work, for whatever description of readers intended. But, in general, it is written with great ability, and, when completed by the publication of the additional volume promised, will doubtless supply the student with the best outline of the law within his reach ; and we can entertain no doubt that a book which was so much needed will be very favorably received.

ART. V.—*Indian Treaties, and Laws and Regulations relating to Indian Affairs ; to which is added an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the Old Congress, and other important State Papers in relation to Indian Affairs. Compiled and published under Orders of the Department of War. Svo. pp. 529. 1826. Washington. Way & Gideon.*

WE have placed the title of this work at the head of the present article, not only because it is a valuable compilation, judiciously executed, but because it contains many important documents, exhibiting the general policy of our government in its intercourse with the Indians. The true character of this policy has not been well understood, even in this country, and abroad it has too often furnished the motive or the pretext for grave accusation and virulent invective. This subject we now propose to examine, and in connexion with it briefly to review the conduct of the two rival nations, whose general measures in peace and war had produced the most permanent effects upon the manners, and morals, and condition of the Indians, previously to the existence of the American government. The operation of the British policy has been so much more extensive and durable than that of the French, that in the observations which we shall submit to our readers, this relative importance will be kept in view.

The peace of 1763 terminated the long contest between the French and British, for superiority upon the North American continent. During its continuance, which exceeded a century, the Iroquois were in the English interest, and the other

tribes in the French. We speak in general terms, and without advertg to the inconsiderable exceptions, occasioned by the local residence of some small tribes, and by other partial causes. The great contending parties availed themselves of the passions and wants of the Indians to harass their enemies, and employed them without scruple, wherever their services were useful; and each was more successful in arraigning the conduct of its rival, than in defending its own, for this atrocious practice, equally repugnant to their duty, as civilized and as christian nations.

We feel no disposition to look back upon the revolting scenes of these times gone by. The Indians were employed with a full knowledge of their habits and propensities; and many a traditionary story, as well as the more permanent memorials of history, has brought down to us, even through successive generations, afflicting details of these enormities. The cupidity of the savages was stimulated by pecuniary rewards, and human scalps, as proofs of death, were bought and sold in christian markets.*

As the fortunes of the French waned, and the superiority of the British became more and more manifest, the zeal and exertions of the Indians in the interest of the latter gradually relaxed, and they became spectators rather than actors, in the great drama, which was rapidly approaching its termination. The Iroquois appear to have become sensible, that in exalting one power and annihilating the other, their policy had been directed by very limited views, and that it would convert an ally into a master. Even as early as the reign of Queen Anne, their deputies, in an address to that sovereign, portrayed, with

* 'In the year 1754, the war assumed a very serious aspect, and the French government, in order to stimulate the savages to cruel and merciless depredations, provided a large premium for the scalp of every Anglo-American, which the Indians should produce. This open cruelty was not retaliated by the English government upon the French inhabitants of Canada, but a bounty was offered of £100 on the scalp of the Indians.'—*Sullivan's History of the Penobscot Indians, Vol. IX. of the Mass. Hist. Col.*

'The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as testimonies of his prowess, and receives a premium for each scalp from the nation under whose banners he has enlisted.' *Wynne's History of the British Empire in America. Vol. II. p. 57.*

'In the war between France and England, and their colonies, their Indian allies were entitled to a premium for every scalp of an enemy.' *Buchanan's Sketches; Introduction, p. 19.*

great truth and feeling, the calamitous issue, which awaited them. 'We doubt not,' said they, 'but our great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French, and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men.*' Since then, so often has this strong wall been interposed between the British and their enemies, that it is now utterly demolished, and its fragments scattered to the four winds of heaven. 'In 1750, the governor of New York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, and to endeavor, by means of valuable presents, and promises of more, to wean them from the French interest, into which they had been artfully allured by that intriguing people, and attach them to their former friends and allies, the British.†

It is evident from many circumstances, that the Indians justly appreciated the motives of the christian belligerents. Pownall says, 'They repeatedly told us, that both we and the French sought to amuse them with fine tales of our several upright intentions. That both parties told them, that they made war for the protection of the Indian rights, but that our actions fully discovered, that the war was only a contest, who should become masters of the country, which was the property, neither of one, nor the other.' (Vol. I. p. 244.) And the Indians told Sir William Johnson, 'that they believed soon they should not be able to hunt a bear into a hole in a tree, but some Englishman *would claim a right to the property of it, as being his tree.*' (Ib. p. 188.) A change in the counsels of the Iroquois was the natural result of this state of feeling, and decided indications of this change are found in the vacillating conduct of their chiefs upon the Ohio, towards Washington, when engaged in his adventurous military embassy to the French posts in that quarter. This state of things became every day less and less equivocal, and in 1774, it led to open hostilities.

But at an earlier period, the unsettled state of their Indian relations must have satisfied the British government, that in succeeding to the power of the French, they had not succeeded to their influence and interest with the Indians. Pontiac's war, and the contemporaneous attack upon most of the posts on the northwestern frontier, and the capture of many of them;

* Wynne, Vol. I. p. 178.

† Ib. Vol. II. p. 24.

the expeditions of Broadstreet and Bouquet in that quarter, and of Grant in the south, together with many other military expeditions of subordinate interest, mark the excited feelings, which prevailed among the Indians, from Michilimackinac to Florida. There is a peculiar elasticity in the French character, and we stop not to inquire whether it be feeling or philosophy, by which a Frenchman accommodates himself to any situation, in which he may be placed. Upon the Seine and upon the St Lawrence, if not equally pleased, he is equally pleasant; and during two centuries, in the depths of the American forests, he has associated with their rude tenants, and, as he could not elevate them to his own standard, he has descended to theirs.* A mutual and permanent attachment has been the result of this intercourse, and to this day, the period of French domination is the era of all that is happy in Indian reminiscence.

When we look back upon the long interval of Indian intercourse, which elapsed between the first settlement on the shores of the Atlantic, and the final consolidation of the British power, nothing but a dreary waste meets the eye. Not a verdant spot cheers the sight, nor a single Oasis in this worse than Libyan desert. Remote and feeble colonies had become important and flourishing provinces, and the aboriginal inhabitants had disappeared, or receded, before the mighty tide of population, which already, from the summit of the Allegany, was spreading with exterminating force over the forests and prairies of the west. We hold no fellowship with those, to whom the sound of the Indian's rifle is more attractive than that of the woodman's axe, nor are we believers in that system of legal metaphysics, which would give to a few naked and wandering savages, a perpetual title to an immense continent. But it will not at this day be disputed, that when, in the progress of improvement, the hunting grounds of the Indians give place to cultivated fields, it is our duty to render them a full equivalent. The British government is responsible for the whole course of measures, in relation to the Indians in this country, until the war of the Revolution. Their orders were executed by their

*In 1685, the Marquis de Denonville wrote to the French government; 'It has long been believed that it is necessary to mingle with the Indians in order to Frenchify them (Franciser). But this is a mistake. Those with whom we mingle do not become French, but our people become Indians.'

own officers, and during a part of this period, a superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern, and another for the southern department, were appointed by the crown.

Not a vestige remains of any permanent advantage derived by the Indians from the cessions or sacrifices they made. Their actual relations with the British government may be emphatically stated in few words. *They were useful, and were used, in war to fight, and in peace to trade.* Queen Anne, indeed, presented sacramental vessels to the Mohawks, and other furniture for a chapel, and this is about the extent, as far as we have been able to discover, of the direct interference of the British government in any plan to improve the moral condition of the Indians. Pious and benevolent men were engaged then, as they are now, in this interesting task, and the names of Eliot and Brainerd have come down to us with apostolic sanctity. The Society for Propagating the Gospel attempted something; but they discovered, as they said, 'that the Indians obstinately rejected their care,' and abandoned the effort, without suspecting, that the fault was in the plan of the teacher, and not in the docility of the scholar. Generally, however, great indifference prevailed, and it is said in the *Biographia Britannica*, that Lord Granville reproved the converting of the Indians, 'because a knowledge of Christianity will introduce them to a knowledge of the arts, and such a consummation will make them dangerous to our plantations.' Of a similar character is the policy, stated by Hutchinson to have been pursued, that of keeping up so much contention among the Indians, as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to us as umpires necessary from time to time.*

In the few Indian treaties which have escaped from the official bureaus, a piece or two of 'strouding,' some 'duffils,' 'kettles,' 'flints,' &c. constitute the whole value paid for important cessions. These presents were too inconsiderable for general distribution, and they disappeared almost as speedily as the council which produced them. A permanent arrangement, by which an annual consideration should always be given, and a supply thus provided for never ending wants, was neither adopted nor proposed. This plan of permanent annuities, which constitutes an era in the relations existing between the white and the red man upon the continent, was introduced

* Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I. p. 252.

under the American government, and was first extensively embodied in Wayne's treaty of 1795; a treaty to which no parallel can be found in history. The Indians had waged a bloody and causeless war against our settlements for many years. They had been finally overthrown in a signal battle, and their confidence in themselves and their cause utterly destroyed. They were invited to a general council at Greenville, where the same terms were granted, which had been offered to them long before. Many important advantages were secured to them, and perpetual annuities were guaranteed to each tribe.

If any restraints were imposed by the British authorities, before our revolution, upon the Indian traders, either in relation to their general conduct, or the price of their goods, such restraints have escaped our investigation. We speak advisedly when we say, that none such now exist. Nor is there any prohibition against the introduction of spirituous liquors into any part of their Indian country. We may close this branch of the subject in few words. There was no attempt to provide a permanent residence for the Indians. There were no schools, and no efforts to introduce agriculture, or the mechanic arts. There were no annuities, no regulations to direct the conduct of the traders, and no law to prevent the sale of ardent spirits. A century and a half had passed away since the first settlement of the country. The rulers who governed it, heedless of the condition and sufferings of its aboriginal inhabitants, abandoned them to that current of events, which is yet hurrying them onward to their doom. The records of history cannot furnish a more cold blooded, heartless document, than the official report of Sir Jeffery Amherst, the British commander in chief, dated Albany, 13 August, 1763, and communicating the result of Colonel Grant's expedition against the Cherokees. He states, that 'Colonel Grant had burnt fifteen towns, and all the plantations of the country; destroyed fourteen hundred acres of corn; and driven about five thousand men, women, and children into the woods and mountains, where, having nothing to subsist upon, they must either starve or sue for peace.'

But that great revolution had now approached, which has already produced, and is yet destined to produce, important changes in the social and political systems of the world. The American government, at the commencement of its operations,

used every effort to prevent the Indians from taking part in the contest, and the desperate struggle in which the early patriots were engaged, still left them time to devise plans for the moral and physical melioration of their unhappy neighbors. On the 30th of June, 1775, Congress resolved,

‘That the committee for Indian affairs do prepare proper talks to the several tribes of Indians, for engaging the continuance of their friendship to us, and *neutrality* in our present unhappy dispute with Great Britain.’

And on the 17th of the following month it was again resolved, in the same spirit of conciliation and humanity,

‘That it should be recommended to the commissioners of the northern department to employ Mr Kirkland among the Indians of the Six Nations, in order to secure their friendship, and to continue them in a state of *neutrality*, with respect to the present controversy between Great Britain and these colonies.’

But in January and February of the next year, two resolutions were passed, which provided more full security for the protection and improvement of the Indians, than all the measures of the preceding government.

‘Resolved—That all traders shall dispose of their goods, at such stated prices, as shall be fixed and ascertained by the commissioners, or a majority of such as can conveniently assemble for that purpose, in each respective department, and shall allow the Indians a reasonable price for their furs and skins, and take no unjust advantage of their distress and intemperance; and to this end, they shall respectively, upon receiving their licenses, enter into bond to the commissioners, for the use of the United Colonies, in such penalty as the acting commissioner or commissioners shall think proper, conditioned for the performance of the terms and regulations above prescribed.’

‘Resolved—That a friendly commerce between the people of the United Colonies and the Indians, and the propagation of the gospel, and the cultivation of the civil arts among the latter, may produce many and inestimable advantages to both, and that the commissioners for Indian affairs be desired to consider of proper places in their respective departments, for the residence of ministers and schoolmasters, and report the same to Congress.’

When the infancy of the government, and the object and spirit of these resolutions are maturely considered, they will be found honorable to the body which adopted them. With what little effect attempts were thus made to counteract the efforts of the British authorities, and to restrain the habitual disposi-

tion of the Indians for war and plunder, was soon demonstrated by events, and impartial history has recorded.

The employment of the savages by the French and British, and of bloodhounds by the Spaniards, to destroy their enemies, are among the most atrocious acts, which Christendom has been called to witness. We shall not here tax our own recollection, nor the feelings of our readers, by any recital of the enormities we have *seen*, or of which we have heard or read. The imagination can furnish no aid towards a just conception of these scenes. There is nothing more appalling than the reality. The Indians are impelled to war by passions, which acknowledge no control, and death and desolation are the objects of their military expeditions. From infancy, they are taught to inflict cruelties upon their enemies, and to bear with stern fortitude, whatever may befall them. They are equally prepared to endure and to torture, and in either situation without the slightest symptom of human frailty or feeling. They have not only no principles of religion or morality to repress their passions, but they are urged forward in their career of blood by all around them; by the examples of their fathers, and by the deeds of their companions. He is the most renowned warrior, whose tomahawk flies swiftest and sinks deepest.

There is a horrible institution among some of the tribes, which furnishes a powerful illustration of this never tiring love of vengeance. It is called, the Man-eating Society, and it is the duty of its associates to devour such prisoners, as are preserved and delivered to them for that purpose. The members of this society belong to a particular family, and the dreadful inheritance descends to all the children, male and female. Its duties cannot be dispensed with, and the sanctions of religion are added to the obligations of immemorial usage. The feast is considered a solemn ceremony, at which the whole tribe is collected, as actors or spectators. The miserable victim is fastened to a stake, and burned at a slow fire, with all the refinements of cruelty, which savage ingenuity can invent. There is a traditionary ritual, which regulates, with revolting precision, the whole course of procedure at these ceremonies. The institution has latterly declined, but we know those, who have seen and related to us the incidents, which occurred on these occasions, when white men were sacrificed and consumed. The chief of the family, and principal member of the society

among the Miamies, whose name was *White Skin*, we have seen, and with feelings of loathing excited by a narrative of his atrocities, amid the scenes where they occurred.

There are but two serious occupations, connected with the ordinary business of life, to which an Indian willingly devotes himself. These are *war* and *hunting*. Labor is performed exclusively by the women, and this distribution of duties is a marked characteristic of all barbarous nations. The passion for war is fostered and encouraged by institutions, which are admirably adapted to make the warrior brave and enterprising. Nothing in the systems of the ancient republics was better devised to stimulate the ardor of their citizens. And when assembled Greece proclaimed the victor at the Olympic games, and crowned him with the olive wreath, she furnished no more powerful motive for exertion and distinction, than is provided in the institutions of our aborigines. It is the same love of distinction, which impels the warrior to tear from the head of the writhing and reeking victim, the bloody trophy of savage victory, and at the next war dance in his distant village, to strike the post, and to recount the atrocities, which, by the aid of the *Sag-a-nosh*,* he has been enabled to commit upon the *Tshe-mo-ke-maun*.†

An Indian war dance is an important incident in the passing events of a village. The whole population is assembled, and a feast provided for all. The warriors are painted and prepared as for battle. A post is firmly planted in the ground, and the singers, the drummers, and the other instrumental musicians, are seated within the circle, formed by the dancers and the spectators. The music and the dance begin. The warriors exert themselves with great energy. Every muscle is in action, and there is the most perfect concord between the music and their movements. They brandish their weapons, and with such apparent fury that fatal accidents seem unavoidable. Presently a warrior leaves the circle, and with his tomahawk or *cassetête* strikes the post. The music and dancing cease, and profound silence ensues. He then recounts, with a loud voice, his military achievements. He describes the battles he has fought, the prisoners he has captured, the scalps he has taken. He points to his wounds, and produces

* Englishman,

† Bigknife, American, } in the Algonquin dialect.

his trophies. He accompanies his narrative with the actual representation of his exploits, and the mimic engagement, the advance and the retreat, are exhibited to his nation as they really occurred. There is no exaggeration, and no misrepresentation. It would be infamous for a warrior to boast of deeds he never performed. If the attempt were made, some one would approach, and throw dirt in his face, saying, 'I do this to cover your shame, for the first time you see an enemy you will tremble.' But such an indignity is rarely necessary, and as the war parties generally contain many individuals, the character and conduct of every warrior are well known. Shouts of applause accompany the narration, proportioned in duration and intensity to the interest it excites. His station in the circle is then resumed by the actor, and the dance proceeds till it is interrupted in a similar manner.

In the poem of *Ontwa*, a scene like this is so well described, that we cannot resist the temptation to transfer it to our pages. Of all who have attempted to embody in song the 'living manners' of the Indians, the anonymous author of that poem has been most successful. His characters, and traditions, and descriptions, have the spirit and bearing of life, and the whole work is not less true to nature than to poetry.

' A hundred warriors now advance,
All dressed and painted for the dance,
And sounding club and hollow skin
A slow and measured time begin ;
With rigid limb and sliding foot
And murmurs low, the time to suit,
Forever varying with the sound
The circling band moves round and round.
Now slowly rise the swelling notes,
When every crest more lively floats,
Now toss'd on high with gesture proud,
Then lowly 'mid the circle bow'd ;
While clanging arms grow louder still,
And every voice becomes more shrill,
Till fierce and strong the clamor grows,
And the wild war whoop bids it close.
Then starts *Shuuktonga* forth, whose band
Came far from *Huron's* storm beat strand,
And thus recounts his battle feats,
While his dark club the measure beats.'

But this scenic representation must not be confounded with the ordinary Indian war songs, which are sung by the warriors, when leaving their villages upon a hostile excursion, and whenever, during the march, the excitement of music is necessary to stimulate the party to encounter the fatigues or dangers of the expedition. The chief warrior commences the song, and after its termination, he is greeted with the well known exclamation, *yeh, yeh*, from all the warriors.

A scalp is the most honorable trophy a warrior can exhibit. Authors have already remarked, that Herodotus describes this custom as existing among the Scythians, and Polybius, among the Carthaginians. It is commonly taken from the crown of the head, but Long, an English traveller in the Indian country, during our revolutionary war, tells us, that "some of the Indians in time of war, when scalps are well paid for, divide one into five or six parts, and carry them to the nearest posts, in hopes of receiving a reward proportioned to the number." p. 23. Some strong moral or religious barrier would be necessary to restrain the Indians from the perpetration of cruelties, to which they are impelled by the powerful motives, which we have described. But no such barrier exists; and the experience of two centuries has demonstrated, that in all their battles with the whites, when resistance ceases the slaughter begins. Man in his strength, woman in her weakness, and infancy in its innocence, are alike devoted to destruction, and frequently with circumstances of atrocity, to which no parallel can be found in other ages or nations.

No terms of reprehension can be too strong for the employment of such a force. The nation, which authorizes it, should be arraigned at the tribunal of Christendom. It is a force which will not be controlled. Human power cannot stay the tide of slaughter. And '*allies*,'* as the Indians may be, it is an alliance, to which posterity will look back with grief and indignation, and which will tarnish the brightest jewel in the crown of the *Defender of the Faith*. It needs no casuistry to prove, that the government, which employs a force, of whose

* The British to the American Commissioners, Ghent, September 4, 1814. 'The British Plenipotentiaries have yet to learn, that it is contrary to the acknowledged principles of public law, to include *allies* in a negotiation for peace, or that it is contrary to the practice of all civilized nations, to propose that a provision should be made for their future security.'

direct tendency they are aware, is responsible for the conduct of that force. Mr Madison has justly said, that 'for these enormities they are equally responsible, whether with the power to prevent them, they want the will, or with the knowledge of a want of power, they still avail themselves of such instruments.'*

That the savages could not be restrained, was well known to the British authorities, and has been repeatedly avowed by their officers, and even with menaces of the consequences. Such was the avowal in Burgoyne's proclamation, and such was the menace in General Brock's demand of surrender to General Hull, wherein he says, 'You must be aware, that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences.' This example was also followed by Proctor in his summons to General Harrison, at Fort Meigs; and at the catastrophe of the River Raisin, General Winchester states in his official report, that he 'was informed by the British commanding officer, that unless a speedy surrender took place, he would not be responsible for the conduct of the savages.' And that these were not empty threats, we have many heart rending proofs, and none more decisive than the British official account of the battle at the River Raisin, published at Quebec, February 8, 1813. It is there coolly stated, 'that at daybreak on the 22d January, Colonel Proctor, by a spirited and vigorous attack, completely defeated General Winchester's division, with the loss of between 400 and 500 slain; *for all, who attempted to save themselves by flight, were cut off by the Indians!*' The incidents connected with the employment of the savages, during the progress of our revolutionary war, are embodied in the history of our country. The gasconading proclamation of Burgoyne, which gave the assurance of official sanction to the measure, and in which he says, 'I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction (and they amount to thousands), to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America;' the numerous hordes, which accompanied his army, and the melancholy catastrophe, which, in the murder of Miss M'Crae, gave more horrible celebrity to their employment; the devastation of the country upon the Mohawk; the massacre of Wyoming; the numerous war par-

* Message to Congress, December 7, 1813.

ties, which were detached from time to time, to lay waste the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky; these are but some of the more prominent events in that long and bitter contest.

But it was at Detroit, that this influence was most successfully exerted. That place was then the central point of Indian negotiation and intrigues, and the savages were there collected from every part of the surrounding country, and fed and clothed at the expense of the British government. Many of the principal Canadians received commissions from the provincial authorities, constituting them officers of the savages, in order that their influence might be exerted in raising war parties, whenever circumstances rendered it expedient to attack and lay waste our exposed frontier. We annex a copy of one of these commissions, as well to authenticate the statements we have made, as to hold up to public abhorrence this nefarious practice. As it is copied verbatim, we disclaim all responsibility for the *accuracy* of the language in which it is written.*

When it was determined to detach a war party upon duty, these officers were directed to raise the necessary number of warriors; and in doing so, they depended on the effect of their personal influence, and on presents, and promises, and war dances, and all the moral and *physical excitements*, to which the Indians most readily yielded.

* 'Par Henry Hamilton, Ecuyer, Lieutenant Gouverneur and Surintendant du Detroit & Dependences, &c. &c. &c.

' A Pierre Guoin, Ecuyer,

' La confiance particuliere que J'ai de votre integrité & attachement a Sa Majesté Le Roy George, et en vertu du Pouvoir & Autorité qui ma été donné par Messire Guy Carleton, Chevalier des ordres du Bain, Capitaine General et Gouverneur en Chef de la Province de Quebec & Territoires en dependans en Amerique, Vice Admiral d'icelle, &c. &c. &c. General et Commandant et Chef les armées de sa Majesté dans la ditte Province et frontiere d'icelle, &c. &c. &c. Je vous nomme et etablis Lieutenant des Sauvages pour le District du Detroit pour en faire les fonctions en la ditte qualité, vous obeirés et suivrés les ordres & instructions que vous recevrés de son Excellence le Commandant en Chef du Surintendant des Sauvages, de son Deputé ou de tous autres officiers Superieurs en menant & conduisant les partie des fidelles nations sauvages, alies à sa Majesté qui seront sous vos ordres.

' Donné au Detroit sous ma main et sceau Le 24 Juin, 1777.

Henry Hamilton.

' Par ordre du Lieut. Gouverneur,
P. Dejean.'

When the party returned, they were formally introduced to the commanding officer. The scalps were thrown down before him in the council house, and the principal warrior addressed him in terms like these, 'Father, we have done as you directed us; we have struck your enemies.' They were then paid and dismissed, and the scalps were deposited in the cellar of the council house. We have been told by more than one respectable eye witness, that when this *charnel house* was cleansed, it was a spectacle, upon which the inhabitants gazed with horror.

The Indians, however, were not always ready to undertake these distant and dangerous expeditions. In 1779, Governor Hamilton prepared a feast, and invited all the warriors to a dance. He was desirous of engaging them in an attack upon some of our settlements. The principal chief was a Kickapoo, who, declining to join in the dance, was reproached by Hamilton in the metaphorical language so common among the Indians. 'Your body is very heavy. You do not dance. You will not go against my rebellious children.' The chief replied, 'True, it is heavy. But so is yours. Take one end of this tomahawk, and I will take the other, and we will go together. But no; you will not go yourself. Is it not a shame, that you send us out like dogs, to fight the Americans, while you remain at your own fire? If I have rebellious children, I throw cold water on them.* If yours are so, do as I do. But neither my hands, nor those of my tribe, were made to be washed in the blood of the white man.' This spirited remonstrance was received with great applause by the Indians, and the expedition was abandoned.

We are indebted for the following relation to a respectable gentleman of Detroit, James May, Esq. and as it elucidates important traits in the Indian character, and discloses facts not generally known, we shall give it in his own words.

'During the American revolutionary war, when the Indian war parties approached Detroit, they always gave the war and death whoops, so that the inhabitants, who were acquainted with their customs, knew the number of scalps they had brought, and of prisoners they had taken, some time before they made their appearance. Soon after I arrived in Detroit, the great war party, which had captured Ruddle's station in Kentucky, returned

* This is the usual mode of punishing children among the Indians. More severe chastisement is seldom resorted to.

from that expedition. Hearing the usual signals of success, I walked out of the town, and soon met the party. The squaws and young Indians had ranged themselves on the side of the road, with sticks and clubs, and were whipping the prisoners with great severity. Among these were two young girls, thirteen or fourteen years old, who escaped from the party, and ran for protection to me and to a naval officer, who was with me. With much trouble and some danger, and after knocking down two of the Indians, we succeeded in rescuing the girls, and fled with them to the Council House. Here they were safe, because this was the goal, where the right of the Indians to beat them ceased.

‘Next morning, I received a message by an orderly sergeant, to wait upon Colonel De Peyster, the commanding officer. I found the naval officer, who was with me the preceding day, already there. The Colonel stated, that a serious complaint had been preferred against us by M’Kee, the Indian Agent, for interfering with the Indians, and rescuing two of their prisoners. He said the Indians had a right to their own mode of warfare, and that no one should interrupt them; and after continuing this reproof for some time, he told me, if I ever took such a liberty again, he would send me to Montreal or Quebec. The naval officer was still more severely reprimanded and threatened to have his uniform stripped from his back, and to be dismissed from his Majesty’s service, if such an incident again occurred! And although I stated to Colonel De Peyster, that we saved the lives of the girls at the peril of our own, he abated nothing of his threats or harshness.’

And in the biography of David Zeisberger, published in the *Christian Herald* of February 3d, 1821, an incident is related, which is not less shocking to the moral sense of mankind, than the reputed attempt of the Austrian tyrant to render the Swiss patriot the executioner of his son.

‘About this time (1778) a large sealed letter had been handed to him by a Wyandot Indian, signed by the governor of Detroit. It contained a positive injunction, with formidable threats annexed to it, to wit, “The teachers of the christian Indians shall, without delay, go on an expedition with us against the rebels, on the other side of the Ohio, kill them, and deliver up their scalps.”’

In the same memoir, and in Heckewelder’s history of the Moravian Missions, will be found an account of the final destruction of this flourishing mission, and the forcible removal

of the Christian Indians and their teachers. In commenting upon these transactions, the London Christian Observer of August 31st, 1826, deems it '*incredible*' 'that our countrymen,' among whom British officers are mentioned, 'should have countenanced a scheme for the assassination of a band of peaceful Christian Missionaries, and the destruction of their unoffending converts.' And it adds, 'that the narrators of these events were Germans,' and that 'it may not unreasonably be presumed, that the narrators were under some misunderstanding respecting the secret springs of the whole affair.' What these '*secret springs*' were, the pious conductors of that excellent work can now determine.

The recognition of our independence terminated these flagitious scenes, and they were succeeded by a few years of comparative tranquillity. But the relations between the two countries were not permanently established, and discussions soon commenced, which assumed a character of severity. They were fortunately closed by Jay's treaty, at the moment when a war appeared inevitable.

But during the progress of these discussions, the usual indications of Indian hostilities, such as have preceded and accompanied all our differences with the British government, gave unerring warning of the storm, which was approaching. It burst upon our frontiers, and during the administration of General Washington, this unprovoked war embarrassed and perplexed the infant government. We have neither time nor space to review its incidents. We can only group together a few of the principal facts, which demonstrate, that the savages did not want other counsels, and influence, and aid, in the commencement and prosecution of the war. Detroit was then, as in the period of the revolution, the British Indian headquarters. The elder M'Kee was at the head of the Indian department, and he was aided by Elliott and Girty, men well qualified to serve in such a cause, where hands that stayed not, and hearts that relented not, and zeal that tired not, could furnish examples, which even savages might admire in despair.

From 1783 to 1790, not less than three thousand persons were murdered or dragged into captivity, from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. The scalps and the prisoners travelled the old war path.* The British Indian de-

* Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. V. p. 339.

partment was numerous and active. A personal inspection was made by Lieutenant Governor Hunter, and a fort was commenced upon the Miami. The hopes of the Indians were elated by the celebrated war talk of Lord Dorchester. Profuse issues of clothing, provisions, and ammunition, were made to them. Several intercepted letters of British officers were published, which leave no doubt of the influence exerted upon the Indians. General Wayne in his official report states, 'that he had obtained a victory over the combined force of the hostile Indians and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit.' And this, too, in a time of profound peace between the American and British governments!

When the Indians fled from the victorious army of Wayne, they applied for admittance into the British fort at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami. Assurances, that they would find shelter there, should the fate of the day prove adverse, had been long before given. The commanding officer, however, took counsel of his prudence, rather than his promises, and closed his gates to the flying savages. This conduct has never been forgotten by the Indians, and Tecumthé in his celebrated speech to Proctor, reproached the British with this gross deception. 'At the battle of the Rapids last war,' said the indignant chief, 'the Americans certainly defeated us; and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place, the gates were shut against us.' And in the speech of Walk-in-the-water, the Wyandot chief, when the Wyandots of Brownstown were importuned to cross the Detroit river, and join the British standard, this untimely occlusion of the fort yet lingered in the memory of the Indians.

In 1812 commenced our second war with England. It was preceded in 1811 by hostilities upon the Wabash, where Tecumthé and his brother the Prophet had collected a considerable band of disaffected Indians, seceders from the established authorities of their tribes. This spirit, however, never extended far, and it was repressed by the vigorous and decisive campaign of General Harrison. Tranquillity was restored upon the borders, until Christian hands again offered the tomahawk to the Indians, and christian presents and promises induced them to accept it. In 1812, as in 1775, did the American government exert every effort to save the Indians from embarking in a hopeless contest, in which they had neither rights to assert, nor wrongs to avenge; but which was prosecuted for objects, that they understood as little as they regarded.

The *talk* of Mr Madison to the Indians in 1812, at the commencement of the war, contains sentiments so honorable to himself and his country, and so appropriately and beautifully expressed, that we shall submit to our readers a part of this interesting document. It may be considered as the manifesto of the American government, establishing the principles of its intercourse with its aboriginal neighbors in the critical circumstances, which imposed new duties upon both. And the contrast between this course, and that pursued by the British government, must awaken reflections here and elsewhere, which although tardy may yet be useful.

‘The red people who live on the same great Island with the white people of the eighteen fires, are made by the great Spirit out of the same earth, from parts of it differing in color only. My regard for all my red children has made me desirous, that the bloody tomahawk should be buried between the Osages, the Cherokees, and the Choctaws. I wish also that the hands of the Shawnese and the Osage should be joined in my presence, as a pledge to cherish and observe the peace made at St Louis. This was a good peace for both. It is a chain that ought to hold them fast in friendship. Neither blood nor rust should ever be upon it.

‘I am concerned at the war which has long been kept up by the Sacs and Foxes against the Osages; and that latterly a bloody war is carried on between the Osages and Ioways. I now tell my red children here present, that this is bad for both parties. They must put under my feet their evil intentions against each other; and henceforward live in peace and good will; each hunting on their lands, and working their own soil.’

‘A father ought to give good advice to his children and it is the duty of his children to hearken to it. The people composing the eighteen fires, are a great people. You have travelled through their country. You see they cover the land, as the stars fill the sky, and are as thick as the trees in your forests. Notwithstanding their great power, the British king has attacked them on the great water beyond which he lives. He robbed their ships and carried away the people belonging to them. Some of them he murdered. He has an old grudge against the eighteen fires, because when he tried to make them dig and plant for his people beyond the great water, not for themselves, they sent out warriors, who beat his warriors; they drove off the bad chiefs he had sent among them, and set up good chiefs of their own. The eighteen fires did this when they had not the strength they now have. Their blows will now be much heavier, and will soon make him

do them justice. It happened when the thirteen fires, now increased to eighteen, forced the British king to treat them as an independent nation, one little fire did not join them. This he has held ever since. It is there that his agents and traders plot quarrels and wars between the eighteen fires and their brethren, and between one red tribe and another. Malden is the place where all the bad birds have their nests. There they are fed with false tales against the eighteen fires, and sent out with bloody belts in their bills, to drop among the red people, who would otherwise remain at peace. It is for the good of all the red people, as well as the people of the eighteen fires, that a stop should be put to this mischief. Their warriors can do it. They are gone and going to Canada for this purpose. They want no help from their red brethren. They are strong enough without it. The British, who are weak, are doing all they can by their bad birds, to decoy the red people into the war on their side. I warn all the red people to avoid the ruin this must bring upon them. And I say to you, my children, your father does not ask you to join his warriors. Sit still on your seats; and be witnesses that they are able to beat their enemies, and protect their red friends. This is the fatherly advice I give you.

‘I have a further advice for my red children. You see how the country of the eighteen fires is filled with people. They increase like the corn they put into the ground. They all have good houses to shelter them from all weathers; good clothes suitable to all seasons; and as for food of all sorts, you see they have enough, and to spare. No man, woman, or child, of the eighteen fires ever perished of hunger. Compare all this with the condition of the red people. They are scattered here and there in handfuls. Their lodges are cold, leaky, and smoky. They have hard fare, and often not enough of it.

‘Why this mighty difference? The reason, my red children, is plain. The white people breed cattle and sheep. They plough the earth, and make it give them every thing they want. They spin and weave. Their heads and their hands make all the elements and productions of nature useful to them. Above all, the people of the eighteen fires live in constant peace and friendship. No tomahawk has ever been raised by one against another. Not a drop of blood has ever touched the chain that holds them together as one family. All their belts are white belts. It is in your power to be like them. The ground that feeds one lodge by hunting, would feed a great band by the plough and the hoe. The Great Spirit has given you, like your white brethren, good heads to contrive, strong arms, and active bodies. Use them like your white brethren; not all at once, which is difficult, but by little and little, which is easy. Especially, live in peace with one

another, like your white brethren of the eighteen fires ; and like them your little sparks will grow into great fires. You will be well fed ; well clothed ; dwell in good houses, and enjoy the happiness for which you, like them, were created. The Great Spirit is the friend of men of all colors. He made them to be friends of one another. The more they are so, the more he will be their friend. These are the words of your father to his red children. The Great Spirit, who is the father of us all, approves them. Let them pass through the ear, into the heart. Carry them home to your people. And as long as you remember this visit to your father of the eighteen fires, remember these are his last and best words to you.'

In the same spirit a council was held on the western frontier, by three distinguished gentlemen, Governors Meigs, Worthington, and Morrow, the objects and result of which were communicated by them to the public, in the following terms.

'The council with the Indian tribes on the western frontier having been concluded, the Commissioners deem it their duty to give to their fellow citizens a concise view of the proceedings and result.

'The Commissioners, according to their instructions, have endeavored to ascertain their views and dispositions. They informed them of the inevitable consequences of any act of hostility on their part, that the President stood in no need of their assistance in the war with Great Britain, and that for their own sakes, he desired them to remain quiet and pursue their usual occupations. The chiefs, in behalf of the tribes that attended, have made professions of friendship and attachment to the United States, and have, in the most positive manner, declared their intention to adhere to and observe the existing treaties, to remain neutral in the present war, and to reject the overtures of the British (which they state to have been repeated and pressing) to engage in it.'

Most unfortunately for this devoted race, these overtures sometimes assumed a shape, which few Indians can resist. In Buchanan's Sketches, to which we have already referred, the speech of Cornplanter to the Governor of Pennsylvania is quoted in these terms. 'Great Britain requested us to join with them in the conflict against the Americans, and promised the Indians land and *liquor*.' (p. 56.) When such objects are attained by such means, a fearful responsibility is assumed, no less at the tribunal of public opinion, than of justice and morality. These means were but too successful. Many of the northern Indians joined the British standard, and as the vicissi-

tudes of war left our frontier exposed or defenceless, they did the accustomed work of death and desolation.

But no event, since the discovery of the continent, has produced greater changes in the character, feelings, and situation of the Indians, than this war. During the latter part of 1812, and the whole of 1813, the north and the west were almost depopulated. Their ordinary occupations were abandoned, and men, women, and children assembled around the British headquarters upon the Detroit river, the warriors for blood, pay, and plunder, and their families for food and clothing. It is said that twelve thousand rations were daily issued to this subsidized host.* And where are they now? Gone, the victims of war, and want, and disease. They perished by thousands, and however their 'watch-fires'† and the other incidents of savage life may furnish materials for romantic delineation, their recollection now excites a deeper sympathy for the fate of those, who gave life and animation to the scene. Their numbers pressed heavily upon the resources of the British commanding officer. Supplies were obtained with difficulty, and doled out with parsimony. Their usual habits and employments were abandoned. These were succeeded by the listlessness of a sedentary camp, without the recurrence of those duties, which give some variety to that most irksome situation. A warrior has no system of tactics to learn and no labor to perform; and when associated with civilized troops, he must abandon the chase, because the animals he pursues retire from the vicinity of large bodies of men. No resource, therefore, was left for physical exertion or mental excitement, except the war parties, which were occasionally detached upon scalping expeditions. Such was the disposition of General Harrison's force, that these were 'few and far between,' and the time of the warriors was generally passed in a state of morbid inactivity. They were collected in unusual numbers, and many of them were as unaccustomed to the climate, as to the mode of life, and the absence of employment. Under these circumstances, disease was necessarily generated, and it was exacerbated by all the symptoms of a disastrous campaign. The hopeless prospect before them was rendered still more gloomy by the presence of their families, remote from home, and depending for food

* Quarterly Review, No. 61, p. 78.

† Id. p. 78.

and clothing upon their 'allies,' whose capture or retreat appeared but too probable. These causes produced their full effect. A grievous mortality prevailed among them, and when the American army made its descent upon the Canadian shore in 1813, there was no foe to oppose it. Proctor had fled with the warriors who adhered to his cause. But much of his savage force had previously disappeared, either in the recesses of the forest, where shelter was nearest, or in the grave. Horrible stories are told of the miseries they endured. We had no pleasure in hearing them, and we should now have none in relating them. Whatever, in the extremity of human suffering, man has done or endured, these wretched outcasts were doomed to do and bear. 'Father,' said the Indians to General McArthur, at the first interview, which they sought with an American officer, after the retreat of Proctor, 'Father, we are now unarmed. We are at your mercy. Do with us as you think proper. Our squaws and children are perishing. We ourselves are also perishing. If you take us by the hand, we are willing to take up the tomahawk against any power, white or red, which you may direct.' But this physical wretchedness was not the only evil entailed upon them by their participation in the war. Their spirits were broken. The series of disasters which occurred, destroyed all confidence in themselves; and when the peace of Ghent restored the American and British governments to their accustomed relations, and the Indians found that all the promises of '*land and liquor*,' which had been made to them, had ended in the loss of one half of their people, and the return of the other to their dependence upon the American government, they yielded with sullen indifference to the fate which they could not avoid.

This feeling was well expressed by Wabeshà, the principal Sioux chief, to the British commanding officer at Drummond's Island, in 1815. Wabeshà is venerable for his age, and has always maintained a decided influence over his people. He was treated with marked attention, and valuable presents were spread before him. 'My Father,' said he to Colonel McDowell, then commanding the post, 'what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets. Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains. That our

British Father would never make peace, without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are now told, it was made by our Great Father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war chiefs; that it is your duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost, both in battle and on the road? Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long, and always found the means of supporting myself, and I can do so still.*

In this general retrospect, it has been no part of our object to excite feelings which time has happily allayed. For ourselves, we were willing, that the story of these enormities should be forgotten. The losses and sufferings were our country's, and we had little reason to expect, that any attack upon its character and conduct, from the party which inflicted the injury, would render a public examination of these facts necessary. But so it is; imposing charges have gone forth to the world against us, and our relations with our aboriginal neighbors have furnished the occasion for accusations, which have been preferred in no measured terms. The subject has been frequently discussed in the British journals, and always in a tone of reproof and severity; but it was reserved for the sixtyfirst number of the London Quarterly Review, formally to arraign and censure the United States, in an article, not less reprehensible for its temper and sentiments, than false in its statements and conclusions. Its whole scope can be fully understood only by an examination; but its tone and spirit may be estimated from a few quotations.

'If the mode of warfare of the Indians was ferocious, that of the enemy with whom we had to contend [the Americans] was equally so.' p. 102.

'However it may be attempted to preserve appearances by fraudulent and compulsory purchases of land, and declarations of benevolent intentions towards their injured possessors, it has always been the boast of American policy, that "*the Indians shall be made to vanish before civilization, as the snow melts before the sunbeam.*"' [The words printed in italics, are marked in the original as a quotation, and the idea is thus conveyed, that this ferocious sentiment is an acknowledged maxim of the American

* From Joseph Rolette, Esq. of Prairie du Chien, who was present at the interview.

government. Let the place be pointed out, where this sentence is to be found, in a connexion to justify the inference obviously deducible from it, and we shall then have reason not to believe it a fabrication.] 'How far,' continues this journal, 'the practice has been assimilated to the design, may be gathered from the butchery by the Kentuckians, of Indian families in cold blood, after their surprise at Tippacanoe on the Wabash; from massacres committed by General Harrison's troops in their attacks on the Indian settlements in the autumn of 1812; from the murder, after the affair at the Moravian Town, of squaws and children, who received no more mercy, than did the wounded warriors; and from the more recent and authorized horrors of General Jackson's Seminole war.' p. 108.

'We affirm without fear of contradiction or of error, that there is not to be found, on the face of the globe, a race of men, so utterly abandoned to vice and crime—so devoid of all fear of God and regard towards man, as the outsettlers of Kentucky, Ohio, and the other back states.' p. 94.

'It would surely have been a despicable submission to the mawkish sensibility of our patriots, to have rejected the cooperation of the Indians in repelling an invading enemy, who at least equalled them in bloodthirsty qualities.' p. 102.

This article has gone forth to Christendom, and as yet uncontradicted. The whole discussion is in this temper, and specific charges are urged against us, with all due formality, evincing equal disregard of courtesy and truth. And shall our countrymen sit still, with folded arms, while the civilized world are believing, and judging, and condemning, deceived, as they well may be, by such bold assumptions, and by the imposing particulars of time, place, and circumstance, with which the statements are surrounded? And this, too, because all must be bland and courteous in literary discussions? We confess that we have no part in such frigid philosophy. Vainly shall we look back with pride, or forward with hope, or around us with congratulation, if we do not cherish a sacred regard for national character, and an unshaken determination to maintain and defend it against the detractions of malevolence, and the attacks of unprincipled illiberality.

It is certainly among the wayward inconsistencies of human nature, and excites our surprise, while we deplore its occurrence, that a literary journal, which has produced powerful effects upon public opinion, and whose general execution is honorable to the age and nation, which it has so often instruct-

ed and delighted, should systematically display, upon some important topics, a deep malignity of feeling and of purpose, equally incompatible with the discharge of the high functions it has assumed, and offensive to every reader of generous sentiments, from the St Lawrence to the Ganges. Whenever its peculiar dogmas, religious or political, are impugned, all sense of right, equity, and truth, seems to be forgotten or abandoned, or else all knowledge to be turned as by a miracle into total ignorance. This predetermined hostility has been heretofore too visible on all subjects, connected with the social and political institutions of the United States; with their past history and future prospects; their government, laws, religion, civil condition, and progress in the arts. These topics are the withering blast of the Simoom to its genius, taste, and learning. We are told that a better spirit is now gaining ground in its pages, and we are glad that some recent proofs would seem to encourage this expectation. Let it be understood that we are not here speaking of what this Journal is or will be, but of what it has been. It is only of sins already committed, that we complain.

By peculiar circumstances we have been led to a knowledge of many of the occurrences, which form the groundwork of the charges, in the article to which we have referred, and we are persuaded that a correct relation of them will redeem our country from the imputations with which it has been assailed. Our Indian relations have frequently furnished, either directly or indirectly, the pretence for these misrepresentations; and 'we think it due to the' world, which may 'have been deceived, to state the real merits of the case, and to refute, as we trust we shall be able to do, these slanders, which in our opinion have been suffered to remain too long unanswered, through the same medium, the press, in which they have been conveyed.'*

Influenced by these considerations, we have been led in the preceding part of this article to a retrospective view of the conduct of the British and American governments towards the Indians. If we are not greatly deceived, the facts, we have placed before our readers, will be deemed as discreditable to the one government, as they are honorable to the other. This general historical examination was necessary to a distinct view

* Quarterly Review, No. 57, p. 86.

of the subject, and to a more particular investigation of the accusations boldly preferred by the Quarterly. These we shall proceed to meet and confute.

The tenure, by which the primitive inhabitants of this continent held their land, is a question of metaphysical speculation, rather than one of practical right. All will agree, that they were entitled to as much as would supply them with subsistence, in the mode to which they were accustomed. And there will probably be an assent, little less general, to the proposition, that whatever was not thus wanted and employed might be appropriated by others to their own use. The new race of men, who landed upon these shores, found that their predecessors had affixed few distinctive marks of property in the forests where they roamed. There were none of those permanent improvements, which elsewhere by universal assent become the evidence and the security of individual appropriation. From Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn, the various nations of Europe have formed settlements, and have gradually by force or purchase reduced the aboriginal inhabitants to a state of vassallage, or driven them into the interior. European sovereigns have divided this immense country, by their charters or their treaties, into many colonies and provinces, and have assumed a general jurisdiction over them, without the slightest regard to the primitive occupants. And the hoisting of the first flag, and the burying of the first bottle, are important incidents, which have occasioned many a perplexing discussion to grave diplomatists.

Almost all the country, now composing the Atlantic portion of the United States, was thus acquired by England. Our colonial records contain the history of many of these negotiations and purchases, but time has swept away almost every vestige of the consideration paid to the Indians. Since the establishment of their independence, the United States have adopted the system of acquiring the aboriginal title by peaceable purchase, but they have adopted it with an important change, consolatory to all, who look with sympathy upon this falling race. The plan of *permanent annuities* guaranties to the Indians a never failing resource against want, and its beneficial effects are apparent in the improved condition of the Wyandots, the Shawnese, and the Miamies. But one instance in the history of the United States can be found, where they have acquired any title to the unappropriated country by force ;

and that was at the termination of the wanton and unprovoked hostilities of the Creeks, originating probably in foreign influence, but prosecuted in a spirit of atrocious cruelty, not often displayed, even in Indian warfare. Peace, without exemplary chastisement, would have been but an invitation to new aggressions.

The condition of our primitive people, is a moral phenomenon, perhaps without a parallel in the whole history of man. During two centuries, they have been in contact with a civilized people. They have seen our improvements, and felt our superiority. They have relinquished their bows, and arrows, and skins, and flint knives, and stone tomahawks, and have adopted our arms and ammunition, our cloths, and many of our instruments of iron and steel. But in their own moral qualities, if they have not receded, they certainly have not advanced. A principle of progressive improvement seems almost inherent in human nature. Communities of men, as well as individuals, are stimulated by a desire to meliorate their condition. There is nothing stationary around us. We are all striving in the career of life to acquire riches, or honor, or power, or some other object, whose possession is to realize the day dreams of our imaginations; and the aggregate of these efforts constitutes the advance of society.

But there is little of all this in the constitution of our savages. Like the bear, and deer, and buffalo of his own forests, an Indian lives as his father lived, and dies as his father died. He never attempts to imitate the arts of his civilized neighbors. His life passes away in a succession of listless indolence, and of vigorous exertion to provide for his animal wants, or to gratify his baleful passions. He never looks around him, with a spirit of emulation, to compare his situation with that of others, and to resolve on improving it. In a season of abundance, he never provides for a season of scarcity. Want never teaches him to be provident, nor misery to be industrious. This fatuity is not the result of ignorance. Efforts, however ill directed, have not been wanting to teach and reclaim him. But he is perhaps destined to disappear with the forests, which have afforded him food and clothing, and whose existence seems essential to his own.

Under such circumstances, what ignorance, or folly, or morbid jealousy of our national progress does it not argue, to expect that our civilized border would become stationary, and some of

the fairest portions of the globe be abandoned to hopeless sterility. That a few naked wandering barbarians should stay the march of cultivation and improvement, and hold in a state of perpetual unproductiveness, immense regions formed by Providence to support millions of human beings? And has England furnished us with any example of such a system of self denial, or rather of canting weakness? We will not inquire in India, for there no barbarians, strictly speaking, are found. But the Australasian continent is now a British province, acquired and settled within the memory of the present generation. And where are its aboriginal inhabitants? Let the following extract from the Sydney Gazette of December 16th, 1824, answer this question.

‘The overseer, finding that they had nearly expended their arms, he and his men dismounted, tied their horses together and faced about, commencing a fire of musketry on the natives, then charged them with the bayonet, until they were completely routed and dispersed. The natives left sixteen men dead on the field, and their weapons were completely destroyed.

‘After the fight, the party returned in safety to Mudgee.’

That nothing short of that whole continent, exceeding Europe in extent, will satisfy the *forbearance* of the British government, we have full evidence in the measures, which are in progress.* And what permanent advantages, either physical or moral, have the Australasians derived from their civilized

* ‘King’s Cove, Port Cockburn, Melville Island, Australasia, November 12, 1824.

‘On our arrival at Sydney from England, we hired a merchant vessel (the Countess of Harcourt), which we loaded with various provisions, and embarked in her a detachment of 25 men of the 3d regiment of Buffs, commanded by Captain Barlow. We also loaded a colonial brig with various agricultural and mechanical instruments, necessary to form a settlement. After a pleasant passage of six weeks, we arrived at the destined spot, at the northern extremity of New Holland (now called Australasia), named Port Essington, in longitude 131° east of Greenwich, where we landed all our mariners (46 in number), and immediately hoisted the British flag on a high tree, amidst a salute of 21 guns from the Tamar, a volley of small arms from the troops, and the repeated huzzas of all hands. Perhaps never was a martial sound heard here before. The natives were so struck with terror, that they all fled away.’

Simple people! you had no reason for fear. None but Americans cause barbarians ‘to vanish as the snow melts before the sunbeams.’

The account then proceeds to describe in detail the defensive works, which were erected, and the force stationed there.

neighbors? We hear of no treaties of cession, no 'purchases compulsory,' or voluntary, no mutual discussions, no annuities for future relief. *The land is wanted, and it is taken.*

But the conversion of our gloomy forests into cultivated fields, which is described as the peculiar reproach of the American government, was commenced and zealously prosecuted, as we have already seen, before that government existed, and with such effect, that the royal authorities, some years before their overthrow, had begun to cover with their grants the great valley of the Mississippi.

At the cession of Canada to England, the French settlements were principally confined to the country upon the St Lawrence, about Montreal and below it. A few small military posts, in the extensive regions to the west, with little cultivated belts surrounding them, constituted the whole of the results of French power, and the whole evidence of French enterprise. The integrity of the Indian territory, north of the great lakes, was almost inviolate. Since then, the population of the country has been more than quadrupled, and its settlements have advanced to the upper lakes, and now rest upon Lake Superior. Here, as elsewhere, the tide of civilization has borne before it the tenants of the forest, and from Montreal to Lake Huron, a few small reservations are all, that are left to them of the vast possessions they inherited. We have not the elements of an accurate calculation in our power, but we are satisfied, that the number of Indians living in the unsettled country, within the limits of the United States, is far greater, in proportion to its extent, than can be found in any part of Canada. Nor is the progress of the English settlements limited to this frontier of the British dominions. They have reached the Arctic Circle, and are spreading through the vast possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company. The mercantile sovereigns, to whom that country was granted by the British crown, are establishing their posts, half commercial, half military, wherever a band is to be subjected or a muskrat to be caught.* And with what effect upon the means and morals of the natives, let the facts

* 'They,' speaking of the Northwest Company (now consolidated with the Hudson's Bay Company), 'planted their forts and trading posts over a wide range of territory, and established a more despotic rule, than could be found to exist, even in any Asiatic government.' *Notices of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 39.

decide, which we shall quote by and by, from Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson, who have lately traversed those distant regions.

But the most extensive speculation, we have ever known in the acquisition of Indian title, for we cannot call it purchase, unless the word be technically used, was that made by Lord Selkirk, upon Red river, the settlement of which was commenced in 1812. This country was granted to him by the Hudson's Bay Company, and in the project for settlement it is stated, that 'a tract of land of some millions of acres, in point of soil and climate inferior to none of equal extent in British America, is to be disposed of.' This tract contained 117,000 square miles,* or 74,880,000 acres, considerably more than one third of the whole quantity ceded to the United States. It is equal in extent to all the states north and east of the Delaware, and was acquired by a little parchment and wax, without even the ceremony of a purchase, and without the expenditure of a single word in promises, or a single shilling in presents or payment to the Indians.† By what 'degree of fair dealing' this was effected, we must leave to our brethren on the other side of the ocean to determine.

There is a branch of our Indian relations, which it may be well to examine in detail, as it has been sometimes misunderstood, and sometimes misrepresented. The subject is thus sneeringly introduced in the article, which we have before quoted.

'By what degree of fair dealing the purchases of Indian lands have been regulated, since the peace, may be learnt from an abstract in Mr Buchanan's work, (p. 152.) By the items in this formal account current it appears, that to the year 1820, above 190 millions of acres had been purchased from the Indians, for which they had received in annuities something more than two millions and a half of dollars! while the profits of the republican government, in vending their acquisitions by retail, or "the balance of gain," as Mr Buchanan calls it, on the part of the United States in dealing with the Indians, amounted to above two hundred and thirteen millions of dollars.' p. 109.

In all of this, there is enough of truth, to elude the charge of deliberate falsehood, and yet so much of error, as to present a result, utterly fallacious.

* Communications of Mercator, from the Montreal Herald, a pamphlet published in 1817, p. 50.

† Communications of Mercator, &c. p. 53.

Assuming Mr Buchanan's statement and estimate to be nominally correct, still every one, in the slightest degree acquainted with the operation of our land system, must be aware, that such calculations of the value of the property could be made, only by the most sanguine political economist, or a most blind political adversary. A considerable proportion of the land in every part of the western country, where these cessions have been obtained, is unfit for cultivation and improvement. Ages will pass away, before it can be all amalgamated with the common mass of property. And during that period, it will remain an unproductive fund, unless the proposition submitted by Colonel Benton to the Senate of the United States should be adopted. His proposition is founded on this very fact, that the duration of the present system of land sales will be indefinite, if the price be not reduced. He therefore proposes, that this reduction should be made at short and fixed intervals, and that eventually a gratuitous distribution should be made of all that is unsold. He illustrates the subject, by the operation of the present system in Ohio, where, after an experiment of thirty years, more than half the land is the property of the government.

The expense of surveying the public land amounts to no inconsiderable sum, and the annual appropriation for this object is about \$70,000. The fees and salaries of the officers, and the various contingent claims, inseparable from such an extended system, present another important deduction from this estimate of profits. In all the new states, inchoate rights have been acquired by actual settlers, which have in many instances been confirmed by the General Government, and extensive districts have been thus gratuitously alienated. There has been also assigned for the support of common schools, and wisely and providently assigned, one thirtysixth part of all the national domains, besides two or more townships in each State and Territory, formed from it, for the support of seminaries, devoted to the higher branches of learning. And in one section of the country, another thirtysixth part has been appropriated to the maintenance of a religious establishment; not in a form prescribed by law, but as each local vicinage should determine.

Such was the operation of the several causes, affecting the sale of the public land, that up to the 30th of June, 1819, within six months of the period alluded to in the Quarterly, as we are officially informed by the reports of the treasury de-

partment to Congress, the whole amount received on account of these sales, from the organization of the government, was but \$18,287,828 dollars.

An experienced and intelligent senator, Mr King, who has since retired from the councils of his country, after a long life devoted to its service, instituted a minute inquiry into this subject, with a view to ascertain its actual effect upon the fiscal operations of the government. The reports, which were received from the executive officers, in consequence of his suggestions, disclosed all the facts, necessary to a correct decision. And it was his opinion, on a careful examination of the subject, that as a mere pecuniary question, the acquisition and sale of lands by the United States had proved an unprofitable adventure. It requires but a moderate portion of that profound science of *profit and loss*, which is not confined to '*republican governments*,' to show, that the value of any article must be estimated by its use, or its power of immediate conversion into money, and if the article itself is useless and unproductive, and cannot be sold for an almost indefinite period of time, it has in reality, no present actual value. Almost any reasonable sum paid for it, would, by the ordinary operation of interest, exceed in a few years the worth of the property.

After deducting the waste and sterile land, the gratuitous concessions, the specific appropriations, and the expenses of survey and sale, from the present actual value of the land, where shall we find that 'balance of gain,' which Mr Buchanan, in his ignorance, and the Quarterly, in its worse than ignorance, have swelled to so formidable an amount? The soundest statesmen in the United States do not look to the public lands as a source of revenue. In the annual estimates submitted by the treasury department to Congress, this branch of national income is computed at a million of dollars.* We have no reason to expect, that it will exceed that amount. Subtracting from this estimate the expenses of survey and sale, and the other contingent claims upon this fund, a sum not sufficient to meet the authorized expenditures for the service of the Indian Department will remain in the treasury. In 1824, the appropriation for this object was \$424,978; in 1825, it was \$730,000; and

* We exclude the estimate for 1827, because circumstances connected with the change of the credit system, and other considerations stated in the annual treasury report, have increased it beyond the experience of past or the prospect of future years.

in 1826, it was \$1,009,741. Every year brings with it peculiar circumstances, which vary the amount appropriated. Such, during the past year, were the sufferings of the Florida Indians, and the incidents connected with the Creek negotiation. These objects require specific appropriations. But so interesting and extensive are the relations, existing between the United States and the Indians, that we have no reason to anticipate any very considerable diminution of this expenditure. It commenced with the commencement of the government, and has gradually and steadily increased; and it will continue, as long as Providence shall continue the Indians in their present state of want and imbecility. In the annual message of the President of the United States, transmitted to Congress December 5th, 1826, it is stated, that the 'appropriations to indemnify these unfortunate remnants of another race, unable alike to share in the enjoyments and to exist in the presence of civilization,' have increased to an unexpected amount. They are applied to the payment of annuities, promised in our various treaties with the Indians; to aid the efforts, which are making to improve their condition; to procure for them occasional supplies of food and clothing; to the purchase of horses and other domestic animals, to improve and promote their agricultural operations; to the support of blacksmiths and other artizans, employed to labor for them; and to the payment of the various officers, necessary to protect them, and to serve as the means of communication, between them and the government and citizens of the United States. If, then, the produce of this public stock is barely equal to the expense entailed upon the country by its acquisition, we shall in vain seek for 'the profits of the American government.'

But our search in another direction will be more successful, and justly offensive as it may be to delicate nerves, it is nevertheless true, that a *regal government* is trafficking in this proscribed article. We are not able to exhibit 'the items of a formal account current,' for these matters have been managed in the Canadas, with prudential secrecy. Much of the public land there has been granted upon a system of favoritism, as rewards for past services, or as motives of future ones. But time and experience produce wonderful changes in the affairs of this world, and it is not now considered disreputable for the regal government to exchange solid acres for sordid pelf. We shall quote, in proof of this assertion, a document, whose authen-

ticity will not be questioned. It is the public notification of the Executive Council of the Province of Upper Canada, signed by order of his Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, in council. It thus commences.

‘For the information of persons arriving in Upper Canada as settlers, the following summary of the rules, which his Majesty’s government has thought fit to lay down for the future regulation of grants of land in the Province, *in conformity to the system, which has been recently adopted with respect to other Colonies of his Majesty*, has been prepared in conformity to instructions from Lord Bathurst.’

It then proceeds to establish nineteen regulations on this subject, three of which we shall quote.

‘1. A valuation will be forthwith made of the lands throughout this Colony, and average prices will be struck for each district.

‘2. All the lands in the Colony, not hitherto granted and appropriated for public purposes, will be offered for sale at the average prices thus fixed.

‘3. The purchase money is to be paid by four quarterly, or five annual instalments, as the party applying may desire, but in the latter case, legal interest shall be charged, and shall be payable annually from the time of making the agreement. A discount of ten per cent. will be allowed for ready money payments.’

The quarterly and annual instalments, the legal interest, and the discount of ten per cent. are highly creditable to the *fiscal knowledge* of Lord Bathurst, and it is due to candor to say, that not a member of the *republican* cabinet could have devised a better system for ‘*vending these acquisitions by retail*,’ and so highly is it esteemed, that it is extended to ‘*other colonies of his Majesty*.’

But the newspapers have informed us, that a contract was made between the British government and certain individuals for the conveyance to them of one seventh part of the public lands in Upper Canada. The details of this bargain we have never seen. But commissioners were sent from England to appraise the lands, and it is understood, that the arrangement has been completed. The consideration paid was said to be one million of pounds sterling, about one fourth part of the sum received by the United States for the sale of all its public lands, from the organization of the government to July, 1819. And this for one seventh part only of one of the most remote colonies of the British crown.

But even Lord Selkirk, with all his pride of ancestry, did not overlook the important consideration of money, while projecting his colonizing schemes. In the project to which we have before alluded, he says, the land '*will be sold extremely cheap.*' All this is as it should be. No government, not wholly abandoned to a system of favoritism or prodigality, would be so regardless of the future, as to cast away a source of income, so unexceptionable as this. Such '*mawkish sensibility*' will find little sympathy in the present age. But what shall be thought of the practical wisdom of a journal, which flouts such a principle? This, too, when it has been recognised by its own government, and is in active and *profitable* operation! Whether it be owing to ignorance, or to any less pardonable quality, let its readers determine.

But it is not alone in '*vending these acquisitions,*' that the influence of the *republican* example has been felt. It has begun to operate with equal force, in obtaining them. The inquiries, which we have instituted, have satisfied us, that no system of permanent annuities has heretofore been adopted in the Canadas, as a consideration for cessions obtained from the Indians. But in June, 1825, an arrangement was made at Amherstburg by the British authorities with a band of the Chippewas, residing upon the River St Clair, for the extinction of their title to a tract of country, extending from that river to Matchedash Bay in Lake Huron. Two small reservations were made, and an annuity of \$3000 was secured to the grantors. But there was a principle engrafted in this treaty, which may teach even the *republican government* a salutary lesson of thrift, and which has never probably occurred to their commissioners, as it is not to be found in any of their compacts with the Indians. With a *profitable* regard to the rapid declension and eventual extinction of these hapless people, a stipulation was introduced into this instrument, providing, that when one half of the band shall become extinct, one half of the annuity shall cease. And the human and the pecuniary reduction are thus to proceed, *pari passu*, until death shall have done its office.

We have not ourselves seen this treaty, but a friend to whom Wawwawnosh, the chief of the band, exhibited the counter-original, has given us an abstract of its stipulations. In the United States, these conventions are annually published in the statute books, and are thus spread before the nation and the

world. But in the British possessions, publicity is never given to them.

If in any branch of this examination we may appear to treat the subject with undue levity, we can assure our readers, that the tone is assumed with the hope to repress more indignant feelings. We look with deep sympathy on the condition of this feeble remnant, who, like the autumnal foliage of their own forests, are scattered by every blast, but to whom no spring will bring renovation; and we regard with deep solicitude, every effort for their preservation and melioration. Not even a partiality for the character of our country would tempt us to conceal their wrongs, or to magnify their errors. But the callous malevolence of the article, which has rendered this discussion necessary, cannot always be met with perfect equanimity, and we may be allowed to sneer at assertions and insinuations, whose falsehood is too palpable for serious refutation.

There is one consideration, connected with the cession of land by the Indians, too important, in a fair examination of the subject, to be overlooked. The advance of the white settlements is the signal for the recession of the game. There is always an extensive interval of border country, between our cultivated frontier, and the permanent possessions of the Indians. Their unremitted efforts to procure food and clothing, cause a rapid diminution of wild animals in this district; and as these animals flee from destruction, they are followed by those, who look to them for sustenance. The district, thus abandoned, becomes useless to the natives, and this is the land, which is generally acquired by our treaties. In many instances, and we speak from personal observation, the amount paid for these cessions has been more valuable to the Indians, than all the animals existing there, whose flesh and furs are sought by them.

We come now to other topics. 'It is not necessary to prove in this place for the fiftieth time,' says the Reviewer, 'that our cause was common with that of the Indian nations. *Against them, as against us, the Americans had been the real aggressors.*' With what truth these assertions are advanced, will be best determined by a brief examination of the various acts of the American government towards the Indians, and by a comparison of these with the course, which has been pursued by the British government.

Our attention has already been called to the unremitting ex-

ertions of the republican government to restrain the Indians from hostilities; to induce them, whenever a contest between their white neighbors appeared unavoidable, to remain in their own country, and suffer the storm to pass away, without exposing themselves to its violence. In the same spirit, hostile tribes have been brought together, *and the tomahawk buried beneath the ashes of the council fire.*

The whole history of the intercourse, between the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent, and the European invaders and their descendants, does not furnish a more consolatory spectacle, than the council held at Prairie du Chien upon the Mississippi in August, 1825. During many generations, a war had been waged between the Chippewas and the Sioux. Its origin is lost in the depths of time, and no other motive for its prosecution has existed, since these tribes have been known to us, than the thirst of revenge, and the necessity of having some enemy, from whom trophies of victory might be won. More recently the Sacs, and Foxes, and Ioways joined the Chippewas, and a crisis seemed fast approaching in the northwest, which threatened to anticipate the operation of all the other causes, to which the sufferings and declension of the Indians are attributable. Nothing could have averted this result, but the powerful interference of the United States, and it was interposed promptly and efficaciously. That 'the Indians might not vanish as the snow melts before the sunbeam,' commissioners were appointed to meet the various tribes, interested in this procedure, and to conclude a peace among them. This was brought about at the expense of the United States, and the preamble of the treaty so fully explains its objects, that we shall quote it, as another proof of the '*exterminating*' policy of the republican government.

'The United States of America, have seen with much regret, that wars have for many years been carried on between the Sioux and Chippewas, and more recently, between the confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux, and also between the Ioways and the Sioux; which, if not terminated, may extend to the other tribes, and involve the Indians upon the Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Lakes, in general hostilities. In order therefore to promote peace among these tribes, and to establish boundaries among them and the other tribes, who live in their vicinity, and thereby to remove all causes of future difficulty, the United States have invited the Chippewa, Sac, and Fox, Menomonie, Ioway,

Sioux, Winebago, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomie tribes of Indians living upon the Illinois, to assemble together; and in a spirit of mutual conciliation, to accomplish these objects, and to aid therein, have appointed,' &c.

The instrument then proceeds to establish a peace among these tribes, and it affords us great satisfaction to add, that this peace has been thus far preserved inviolate, and there is every reason to believe it will be permanent. The same principle was pursued in 1826, and at a greater expense, by convening a council upon Lake Superior, for the purpose of explaining and enforcing in that remote region, the objects of the treaty of Prairie du Chien. And at St Louis in September last, the Delawares and their allies, and the Osages, were convened, and an arrangement happily effected for the termination of the hostilities existing between these contending tribes.

The amount annually expended by the government of the United States, upon the various matters connected with their Indian relations, has been already stated, as have also the objects to which this expenditure is applied. It has been shown, that the sum now received from the sales of the public lands, is barely sufficient to meet this demand upon the treasury. But during many years, the United States supported an establishment, devoted to the purpose of supplying the Indians with those articles of civilized manufactures, which long habit has rendered essential to their comfort or subsistence. This plan was first adopted in 1796, and was continued by successive legislative enactments, until 1822, when the law regulating it was suffered to expire by its own limitation. A superintendent and agents were appointed, and a capital finally equalling \$500,000 was vested in this concern. The salaries of all the officers were paid from the treasury, and the merchandise was required to be sold to the Indians, upon such terms, as would merely preserve the integrity of this capital. Even this utterly failed, owing to causes arising out of the war. It was eventually thought expedient to leave this trade to private competition and to regulate the conduct of the traders, so as to prevent those impositions, which, at an earlier period, were apprehended from the limited capital and few persons engaged in this distant and hazardous traffic.

The laws of the United States, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, have made every provision, which could be devised, for protecting the rights of the Indians,

and restraining our citizens from injuring them. Among these provisions the following are the most prominent.

Places are designated, where the traders must reside, in order that their conduct may be more open to observation, than it would be, if they were suffered to roam at pleasure through the country.

No person can enter the Indian country to trade, without first obtaining a license from the proper agent, and giving bond with sufficient sureties for his good conduct.

These licenses must be annually, or at most biennially renewed, and any maleconduct prevents their renewal.

An invoice must be submitted to the agent, previously to the granting of the license, that proper articles only may be introduced into the Indian country.

An abstract of these licenses is required to be annually submitted to Congress, and thus are they subject to the supervision of the national legislature.

These are the principal provisions, by which the government of the United States has attempted to regulate the conduct of its citizens in their intercourse with the Indians. That they are wholly effectual, or that they are never violated, no one needs to be told, who knows what feeble barriers statutory regulations frequently interpose between ignorance and cupidity. But their object and tendency cannot be misunderstood, and it is difficult to conceive what other general system can be adopted, better suited than this to attain the desired end. Our laws also contain other regulations, not less honorable to the government than useful to the Indians.

All persons are prohibited, under heavy penalties, from hunting or trapping, or settling upon the Indian lands, or from driving horses or cattle to feed thereon.

The purchasing or receiving from any Indian a 'gun or other article commonly used in hunting, any instrument of husbandry, or cooking utensil of the kind *usually* obtained by the Indians in their intercourse with the white people, or any article of clothing, except skins or furs,' are rendered indictable offences.

The United States guaranty to the Indians full payment for injuries done to them by any citizen, who shall pass the boundary line. In all disputes between the Indians and the whites, respecting property, the presumption is declared to be in favor of the Indian, where possession has ever been with him.

There is also a permanent act, which appropriates a sum of money annually, 'for the civilization of the Indian tribes ad-

joining the frontier settlements.' The first section of this act, is a memorable proof of the feelings of the government of the United States, towards the Indians, and is, in itself, too interesting to be passed by unnoticed.

'For the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilized life, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case, where he shall judge improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and for performing such other duties, as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules, as the President may give and prescribe, for the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties.'

And yet 'it is the boast of American policy, that the Indians shall be made to vanish before civilization as the snow melts before the sunbeam!'

The inordinate indulgence of the Indians in spirituous liquors is one of the most deplorable consequences, which has resulted from their intercourse with civilized man. Human nature, in its vast variety of aspects, presents no phenomenon like this. Among other nations, civilized and barbarous, excessive ebriety is an individual characteristic, sometimes indulged and sometimes avoided. But the Indians in immediate contact with our settlements, old and young, male and female, the chief and the warrior, all give themselves up to the most brutal intoxication, whenever this *mad water* can be procured. This propensity was remarked at a very early period, for Le Père Ducreu, in his *Historia Canadensis*, says, *Illi austerâ illâ non suavitate, sed acrimoniâ barbarice capti, sine modo legeque, pellium permutatione cœmptum hauriunt.* (p. 62.) There is no reason to believe, that prior to the discovery of America, the Indians north of Mexico used any artificial liquor whatever. We can find no trace of any preparation similar to the *ava* of the Polynesian islands, or to the intoxicating liquor of the Mexicans. This remarkable abstinence, of which few examples can be found, has been succeeded by a melancholy reaction, equally unprecedented. Elsewhere habitual drunkards have paroxysms of intoxication followed by sobriety; but as long as

the stimulus can be obtained, an Indian abandons himself to its indulgence, with the recklessness of desperation.

At the treaty of Chicago, in 1821, the commissioners ordered, that no spirits should be issued to the Indians, and informed them, in their own manner, that the bungs were driven into the barrels. A deputation of the chiefs was sent to remonstrate against this precautionary measure, and at its head was Topinbe, the principal chief of the Potawatomie tribe, a man upwards of eighty years of age. Every argument was used to convince them that the measure was indispensable; that they were exposed to daily murders, and that while in a state of intoxication, they were unable to attend to the business, for which they were convened. All this was useless, and the discussion was only terminated by the peremptory refusal of the commissioners to accede to their request. 'Father,' said the hoary headed chief, when he was urged to remain sober, and make a good bargain for his people, 'Father, we care not for the money, nor the land, nor the goods. We want the whiskey. Give us the whiskey.'

But fortunately, these revolting scenes are confined to the vicinity of the settlements, where spirituous liquors can be more easily procured. In the interior, the transportation of all articles is so expensive, that whiskey cannot be profitably sold in any considerable quantity. The ascent of rapid streams, and the crossing of numerous portages, where boats and their lading must be conveyed by human labor, render the Indian trade hazardous and expensive. And if the laws could be eluded, still the trader would be admonished by his own interest, not to attempt the sale of this deleterious article. If introduced at all, its introduction must be to the exclusion of commodities, essential to the subsistence of the Indian, and consequently to the object of the trader. We have seen many Indians, remote from the white settlements, who had never tasted of spirituous liquors, and we can testify, from personal knowledge, that the evil itself is almost unknown there.

Every practicable method has been adopted by the government of the United States, effectually to prevent this traffic. The introduction of spirituous liquors into any part of the Indian country is rendered penal, and subjects the offender to fine and imprisonment, and to absolute forfeiture of all his goods. And the officers upon the frontier are enjoined to search all packages entering the country, and to seize and

confiscate all outfits, among which this proscribed article shall be found. These regulations are rigidly enforced, and as there are certain great avenues of communication, by which alone, merchandise can be imported into the Indian country, it is not difficult to control the arrangements of the traders. These routes are the Mississippi and Missouri, the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, the Illinois river, the St Peter's river, and the straits of St^e Marie. By closing these great natural highways, all entrance into the country beyond is effectually interdicted, and upon or near all of them, military posts are established, where a rigid system of *surveillance* is maintained. The police of the Indian trade is here in active operation, and every security is provided against fraud and oppression, which can be applied in such a complicated and extensive concern.

The cultivated frontier of the United States, with which the Indians are placed in contact, extends from Detroit to Nacichtoches, a distance upon this line of fifteen hundred miles. Settlements occur at intervals, of greater or less extent along this whole border. There is nothing to prevent a daily intercourse between the inhabitants and the Indians; and where the passion for spirituous liquors is so strong, and the determination to indulge it at all hazards, so fixed, it is easy to conceive, that opportunities would not be wanting, even were our institutions less free than they are.

A solitary settler, whose nearest neighbor is some miles distant, has little to fear from the operation of a law, whose violation there is none to witness. And this is the difficulty, which has heretofore rendered abortive every exertion wholly to suppress this traffic, in the vicinity of our settlements. The peculiar organization of our government has vested in the United States complete jurisdiction over the Indian country, and as we have already seen, their duty has been fearlessly performed, by the enactment of laws to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors, and by an efficient administration of them. But as soon as the Indian title to any part of this country is extinguished, the jurisdiction of the general government, for all the purposes of internal police, ceases, and that of the proper state or territory commences. All the states and territories upon the western frontier have also passed laws to correct this evil, and why these laws have been less effectual than those passed by Congress, the facts we have stated will fully explain.

During the administration of Mr Jefferson, that distinguished philanthropist regarded with deep solicitude the condition and prospects of the Indians, and promoted with untiring zeal every measure for their improvement. He addressed a circular letter to the governors of the several states and territories, upon the Indian frontier, respecting this traffic in spirituous liquors; and as this letter discloses the views of the government upon this important subject, we shall insert it below, as another evidence of this 'exterminating' policy, as it was exercised twenty years ago; and similar proofs we might adduce even to the 'fiftieth time,' if it were necessary.

To the judgment of the world we may safely commit the conduct of the American government, in regard to the particulars here touched upon. That full success has not attended their measures, is obviously attributable to the peculiar circumstances which we have examined, circumstances that embarrassed the French government in their efforts to protect the Indians from this deleterious indulgence. The earlier historians of Canada have recorded the edicts and instructions of the French king for preventing '*la traite d'eau-de-vie*,' et '*l'yvrognerie à laquelle ces peuples ont un penchant*.' With what little success, is evident from the whole course of the narrative, and from the reiterated and peremptory interference of

* '*Washington, Dec. 31, 1808.*

'SIR,—The general government of the United States have considered it their duty and interest, to extend their care and patronage over the Indian tribes within their limits; and perceiving the injurious effects produced by the inordinate use of spirituous liquors, have passed laws authorizing measures against vending or distributing such liquors among them. Their introduction by traders was accordingly prohibited, and for some time was attended with the best effects. I am informed, however, that latterly, the Indians have got into the practice of purchasing such liquors themselves, in the neighboring settlements of whites, and of carrying them into their towns; and in this way, our regulations, so salutary to them, are defeated. I must therefore request you to submit this matter to the consideration of your legislature. I persuade myself, that in addition to the moral inducements which will readily occur, they will find it not indifferent to their own interest, to give us their aid in removing from their neighbors this great obstacle to their acquiring industrious habits, and attaching themselves to the regular and useful pursuits of life. For this purpose, it is much desired, that they should pass effectual laws to restrain their citizens from vending and distributing spirituous liquors to the Indians.

I am, &c.

TH. JEFFERSON.

the government. The true cause of the failure is stated by Charlevoix, who concludes his account of one of these efforts by the just reflection, that ordinary authority acts feebly against certain passions, '*et que l'intérêt de la religion est un motif peu capable de toucher des cœurs dominés par la cupidité!*' On a retrospect of all that has been attempted and effected, it can excite but little surprise, that the American government has but partially succeeded, when the first possessors of Canada, with military authority, an inconsiderable population, and but one avenue of communication with the interior, were unable to suppress this desolating traffic.

But in the actual state of our Indian relations, the missionary establishments for the education of Indian youth, founded and supported by voluntary contributions and aided by an annual appropriation from the national treasury, almost offer an atonement for the past, and certainly strong encouragement for the future. With a full knowledge of all that has heretofore been done, these institutions are proceeding upon more rational principles. And whatever may be the result of this great and interesting, and we may probably add, final experiment, but one opinion can exist respecting the motives and views of those who are conducting it. Of these establishments there are fortyone in operation, upon the frontiers of the United States. We do not know the number of pupils they contain, but their expenditures were \$191,606 in 1824, and \$202,070 in 1825. The returns for 1826, we have not seen. They will doubtless exhibit a proportionate increase. When it is recollected, that the value of their own agricultural products, and the labor of their teachers, artisans, and others, which is wholly gratuitous, constitute no part of this amount, some conception may be formed of the value of these eleemosynary foundations. The children, male and female, are here fed, and clothed, and taught, and they are prepared, by a regular discipline for those duties, which subsequent events may probably call them to perform. We shall hazard no predictions concerning the result. Whatever that may be, no holier effort can be found in all the records of human charity.

We shall advert to but one other plan which has been proposed for meliorating the condition of the Indians, and preserving them from further decline and eventual extinction. This is the scheme for removing them to the country west of

the Mississippi, and there establishing them in a permanent residence. It is well known, that this proposition was submitted by the President to Congress two years since, accompanied by a project of the various arrangements required to give it full effect. It has been slightly discussed in the legislative halls, and more fully in the public papers before the nation; and the general opinion on its practicability and consequences is yet unsettled. All agree, that the expense is unworthy the consideration of the government, and that the only important inquiry is, what effect it would produce upon the Indians themselves. The magnitude of the subject is imposing, and its possible consequences appalling. Doubts and difficulties surround the question, and we do not here introduce it, that we may prejudice or even discuss it. We have brought it before our readers merely as an evidence of the feelings of the American government, and of their earnest desire to discharge with fidelity a great moral debt, which is neither concealed nor denied.

But when has England stretched forth a hand, to stay this wasting pestilence, which is sweeping before it all that time has spared us of the race of red men? The whole continent, north of the United States, is under her control. From the gulf of St Lawrence to Nootka Sound, she exercises undisputed sovereignty. In those extensive regions, many tribes of Indians yet remain, if not with primeval manners, yet with strong claims upon the sympathy of the government and people, who assert and exercise jurisdiction over them. There is here no want of physical wretchedness, or of moral depravity. The climate is rigorous, and the country sterile, and a scanty and precarious subsistence is furnished by the rivers and lakes and forests of these hyperborean regions. The living fountain of depravity has sprung up here, and the white man has presented that poisonous draught, which brings forgetfulness of the past and recklessness of the future; which converts an Indian into a demon, with every baleful passion excited, and every moral barrier prostrated, exhibiting a loathsome spectacle, of which no conception can be formed by those, who have seen only the *excesses of civilized life*.

Our inquiries, concerning the measures which have been adopted by the British government on this important subject have been direct, and the answers have been brief. To Upper Canada, however, these inquiries have been principally con-

fined, because there our opportunities have been most favorable, and because in Lower Canada the original population has almost disappeared. *What has been done, no one has told us. What has been left undone, embraces the whole circle of duties, which the relative situation of the parties imposes upon the christian power.* There is no law to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians ; none to prevent persons from hunting and trapping upon the Indian lands. There is no law to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors in any quantity into the Indian country ; or to require Indian traders to be licensed or to give bonds ; or to regulate their conduct ; but they trade, when, and where, and how they please. No annuities are paid to the Indians ; or rather none is known to be paid to them, except in the case we have already mentioned. And in Mr Halkett's historical notes, respecting the North American Indians, published in 1825, we are told, that 'in Canada, there is but one regular protestant Indian mission !'

We have not heard, that any plan has been digested or proposed for removing the Indians from any part of the lands they now occupy, where they are peculiarly exposed to temptations and danger, to more remote positions, beyond the reach of the advancing tide of civilized vices and population. Mr Buchanan has indeed suggested, that the country on the eastern coast of lake Huron should be appropriated as a land of refuge, where these timeworn pilgrims may find rest and safety. But unfortunately for the success of this well intended project, this tract has been purchased by the British government, since the promulgation of Mr Buchanan's scheme, and the compass and chain are already preparing it for division and sale and settlement.

The reviewer in the Quarterly has also expressed his approbation of this plan of protection and seclusion, but his benevolence is not less catholic, than it is disinterested. He proposes, that the Indians, living within the United States, should be received, and protected, and improved in the British dominions. But he shall speak for himself.

'With us, humanity and policy dictate but one course. As the stream of American population continues to drive the tribes before it, some part of their remaining numbers may be forced northward, within the *nominal* [?] boundary of our possessions. There the fugitives should find shelter and protection, and opportunities of social improvement. There the remains of the primitive people of that vast continent might yet be collected.' p. 110.

This is as just as it is generous, for we are assured, that to the Indians, 'is the preservation of Upper Canada, in the first year of the war, mainly to be attributed.' (p. 100.) That after these essential services, and after being compelled to abandon the 'Michigan country, of which it was intended to give them lasting possession,' (p. 78) a district should be assigned for their permanent occupation, would not be unreasonable to expect. And, in the philanthropy evinced by the proposition, we must find an excuse for the total ignorance displayed of the course of Indian migration, which will never be directed towards the arctic regions. But unfortunately, the concluding sentence, by disclosing the true object of it, converts this benevolent scheme into a mere interested defensive preparation.

'There the remains of the primitive people of this vast continent might yet be collected; and their settlement on the western flank of our cultivated country might form no contemptible barrier and point of support against future aggressions, by which it is idle to suppose, that the Canadas are not yet to be menaced.'

Hapless people! Still destined to fight the battles of others, after your own are fought and lost! You are to become a living bastion on the flank of the Canadian defences! And this after all is the object of the proposition. The Indians are to be concentrated on our boundary, and thence they are to descend upon the cultivated country, as the Goths descended upon Rome, involving in one indiscriminate destruction the monuments and arts of civilized life, and those who reared and cultivated them.

The total absence of all restrictions upon the Indian trade in the British dominions has naturally led to the most revolting scenes. We shall extract from Captain Franklin's narrative a few passages, exhibiting facts, to which nothing similar can be found, from the mouth of the St Croix to the mouth of the Colombia.

In describing York Factory, the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain Franklin observes, speaking of the Crees,

'The inmates had a squalid look, and were suffering under the combined afflictions of the hooping cough and measles; but even these miseries did not keep them from an excessive indulgence in the use of spirits, which they unhappily can procure from the traders with too much facility; and they nightly serenaded us with drunken songs.' p. 23

'The tribe of Indians, who reside in the vicinity and frequent these establishments is that of the Crees or Knisteneaux. They were formerly a powerful and numerous nation, which ranged over a very extensive country; and were most successful against their neighbors, particularly the northern Indians, and the tribes on the Saskatchewan and Beaver rivers; but they have long ceased to be held in any fear, and are now perhaps the most harmless and inoffensive of the whole Indian race. This change is to be entirely attributed to their intercourse with Europeans [Englishmen?], and the vast reduction in their numbers, occasioned, I fear, by the injudicious introduction among them of ardent spirits. They are so passionately fond of this poison, that they will make any sacrifices to obtain it.' p. 50.

'It might be thought the Crees have benefited by their long intercourse with civilized nations. That this is not so much the case as it ought to be, is not entirely their own fault. They are capable of being and I believe willing to be taught, but no pains have hitherto been taken to inform their minds, and their white acquaintances seem in general to find it easier to descend to the Indian customs and modes of thinking, particularly with respect to women, than to raise the Indians to theirs. Indeed, such a lamentable want of morality has been displayed by the white traders, in their contests for the interest of their respective companies, that it would require a long series of good conduct, to efface from the minds of the native population, the ideas they have formed of the white character.' p. 59.

'It often happens,' says Doctor Richardson, 'that the meat, which has been paid for, if the poisonous drafts it procures them, can be considered as payment,' &c.

But the full developement of the principles and practice of this trade will be found in the seventieth page of this work, and to it we must refer all, who are anxious to ascertain what are the effects of this intercourse, where there is no authority to check or restrain it. We cannot introduce into this journal the facts, which are disclosed. But the canon of commercial ethics, by which these shocking scenes are permitted and justified, we shall here quote for the benefit of some future Vattel, who may prepare a code of fur regulations for the 'republican government.' '*The masters and wintering partners of the companies, deemed this criminal indulgence to the vices of their servants, necessary to stimulate them to exertion for the interests of their respective companies.*' And this atrocious principle is thus avowed, not by one of the 'outsettlers of Kentucky, Ohio, and the other back states,' but by two great companies, one of

them constituted by the British crown, sovereigns over an immense country, peopled by many tribes of Indians, and the other exercising actual sovereignty, without any delegated authority, over regions as extensive, and as extensively inhabited. Well may the reviewer in the *Quarterly* commiserate the fate of the Indians, when abandoned to traders like these !

But the contests of these rival companies assumed, at one period, a much more portentous aspect, than the ordinary competition of commercial jealousy. Armaments were prepared, *allies* engaged, forts captured, and battles fought, by these *peltre lords*, in open contempt of their government, and to their own everlasting disgrace. Scenes were exhibited to the Indians in that quarter, which never were, and we may proudly say, never can be witnessed in the United States.* These flagitious scenes continued for years to excite their passions and corrupt their morals, as well by the depraved examples around them, as by the indulgence of their propensity for ardent spirits, which the importance of their services rendered necessary.

* We shall quote from Lord Selkirk's justificatory pamphlet, published at Montreal in 1817, and entitled 'Notices of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Conduct of its Adversaries,' a few paragraphs descriptive of these incidents.

At page 94 will be found the instructions of the Governor of the Red River Settlement, dated Fort Douglass, 12th April, 1816, to one of his officers detached upon a particular service. This officer is told, 'It is my wish, that you carefully avoid every act of hostility, until fully justified by the conduct of our enemies. The half breeds having been ordered to assemble at the Fort Qui Appelle, any acts of hostility committed by them, must be considered as committed by immediate or authorized agents of the Northwest Company, and repelled or *retaliated* accordingly.'

In a note to page 101, it is stated, that 'in the month of July, 1816, in a council held before the Indian department at Drummond's Island near Lake Superior, in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Maule, President, Lieutenant Colonel M'Kay, Superintendent of Indian affairs, John Askin, and others, a declaration was made by Katawaketay, an Indian of Fond du Lac, importing, that he had been solicited by some of the Northwest Company, to lead his nation to make war upon and destroy the English Colony, at Red river. That he had been offered all the goods in three of their stores as a reward, if he would undertake this service. That he had refused their offer, and declined taking arms against the colony, until he knew whether it would be satisfactory to the Indian department, and his great father on the other side of the great lake. That he was some months afterwards offered a bribe, if he would cause the bearers of despatches to the Colony to be intercepted by any of his people, and robbed of their papers or murdered.'

'These Indians,' we are told in the pamphlet just referred to 'are often kept in the forts of the Northwest Company in a state of intoxication, until they are deprived of all they possess.' (p. 53.) Nor was this civil war terminated, as it should have been, by the efficient interposition of the British government. A proclamation of Sir John Sherbrooke is almost the only public measure, which is known to have been adopted. Some of the parties were apprehended by the exertions of their rivals, and committed to prison at Montreal, but they finally escaped with impunity. Lord Selkirk was understood to be at the head of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was influential in London, and Mr M'Gillivray, a member of the Council of Lower Canada, was at the head of the Northwest Company, which was equally influential at Quebec. But a union of the rival companies has terminated all these difficulties. The bustle and noise of war have disappeared, and have been succeeded by the calm, still operations of trade. It is a silence, which will not soon be interrupted. It is already becoming the silence of desolation. In those impassable regions, the oppressor and the oppressed are almost severed from the human family, and there are few now to disclose the deeds of the one, or the sufferings of the other. A vague estimate of them may however be formed from the facts before us.*

In Captain Franklin's Narrative, there is a full confirmation of these statements, but it appears from his account, that both of the companies, now consolidated into one, are guilty of these nefarious practices. After informing us of the methods by which the Indians are induced to dispose of their furs, and particularly the enticement of spirituous liquors, he adds,

'Neither has any attention been paid to the original cost of European articles, in fixing the tariff, by which they are sold to the Indians. A coarse butcher knife is one skin, a woollen blanket, or a fathom of coarse cloth, eight, and a fowling piece, fifteen. p. 74.

He has already told us, that a skin in the language of the

* 'From the manner in which the trade of the Northwest Company is carried on, the natives are subjected to continual and grievous oppressions and cruelties, and their race is menaced with speedy extinction.' *Hudson's Bay Company Pamphlet*, p. 58.

'The intercourse of the Northwest Company with the Indians is not indeed entitled to the appellation of a trade, but under the semblance and disguise of commerce, is an organized system of rapine.' p. 61.

trade, is a beaver skin, and is the standard of value; and we are thus enabled to compute the prices of the articles mentioned, and to form some general conception of the enormous profits of this traffic. The expense of transportation is inconsiderable, when compared with the excessive prices, at which the goods are sold; for the pamphlet before quoted informs us, 'It is well ascertained, that the conveyance of goods through Hudson's Bay, to the Red River Settlement, is not more expensive, than the conveyance of goods from England to York, in Upper Canada' (page 67); and again it is said, that 'these goods are sold at an advance of one thousand per cent. upon the Montreal prices' (page 40). We are told by M'Kenzie, (*Travels*, vol. I. page 24,) that thirteen thousand three hundred and sixty-four skins of fine beaver weigh nineteen thousand two hundred and eightythree pounds,' giving about one pound and a half as the average weight of each skin. This at five dollars a pound, which is the usual price, would fix the value of a skin at seven dollars and a half. A butcher knife, which probably costs in England $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling, would thus sell for seven dollars and a half; a blanket or two yards of coarse cloth, which cost two dollars, would sell for sixty; and a fowling piece, which M'Kenzie (Vol. I. p. 19) says 'costs no more than twenty-one shillings in Great Britain,' would sell for one hundred and twelve dollars and a half. We may safely affirm, 'without fear of contradiction or error,' that human avarice has never devised a more stupendous system of fraud and rapine, and that a more iniquitous traffic, or one evincing a more utter destitution of 'all fear of God and regard towards man,' has never administered to the insatiate thirst for riches. The extracts we have furnished exhibit a full view of this trade. A hunter is enticed in the autumn, to receive, what, in the language of the trade, is called '*credits*,' or such articles as are essential, in the altered condition of the Indians, to the subsistence of his family. With the products of the chase, he is anxious to discharge the debt, but he is allured to another post, and supplied with ardent spirits at 'one thousand per cent. advance,' till his reason is overpowered, and his little stock dissipated. He is then turned out, with a miserable family about him, and the frigid zone before him.

These are the effects of an unrestrained trade. We have sketched them briefly, but truly. And that the moral degradation of the Indians is not confined to these countries, we have

the evidence of the anonymous author of the 'Remarks on the Indians of North America,' who is understood to be Mr Bannister, Attorney General of New South Wales, and who says, 'The Indians in Nova Scotia are perhaps more degenerated than any other tribes.' (p. 37.) We trust the *outsettlers and traders of the back States*, will not again be taunted by a British journal with 'their vicious lives,' and 'the poison of ardent spirits,' until the general character of the Indian trade in the British dominions shall have approximated to the standard, which is established by the laws of the United States, and to which their citizens have approached, if they have not conformed.

The Reviewer dismisses with affected indifference, as we have seen, the question of the employment of the savages by the British government in the late war. 'Against them, as against us, the Americans had been the real aggressors.' This pretence of fighting the battles of the Indians is a stale artifice, and one which they themselves well understand, as is sufficiently evinced by their declaration already quoted from Pownall. Mr Bannister is more candid. He says, 'Nor must it be forgotten, that Indian hostilities have rarely been carried on in the absence of European instigations.' (p. 27.) We have no disposition to tax the patience of our readers by investigating the causes of our second war with Great Britain. He, who has yet to learn, that it originated in a series of maritime aggressions, unexampled in duration and extent, must seek it in the history of the times. The hope of possessing Canada had no more influence upon the declaration of war, than the possession of Paris in 1814, by the allies, had upon the origin of the war, which was consummated by that event. In all belligerent operations, injuries are mutually inflicted, until the parties are willing to relinquish the contest, with or without an adjustment of the difficulties, which caused it.

The war with the tribes, here alluded to, was the hostile movement upon the Wabash in 1811, which commenced in the fanatical or political schemes of Tecumthé and his brother, the Shawnese prophet, and was terminated by the battle of Tippacanoe. The Reviewer, with characteristic ignorance, denominates this a furious war with the Indian tribes. It was a very partial affair, in which not a single tribe was engaged. During several preceding years, a fanatical spirit had gone forth among the Indians, of which the Prophet was rather the dupe than the cause. Circumstances, partly the result of his personal

character, but still more of his situation and associations, gave to his rhapsodies an influence and to his name a celebrity, which the prophets of other tribes have never acquired. But the same phrenzy prevailed through the whole extent of the Indian country, and was felt amid the ice and snow of the polar regions. It was not alone upon the frontiers of the United States, that a prophet appeared to rouse his countrymen, by religious denunciations, to cast away the manufactures of the white man, and to bid the forest resume its empire over his cultivated fields. The disaffected party under the influence of the Prophet, which threatened our frontiers in 1811, before the movements of General Harrison's army, and which was dispersed by his successful operations, was composed of deserters from a few of the tribes. The acknowledged government of each tribe disavowed any participation in their projects. And they were in fact a lawless, predatory band, obeying no common authority, and seeking no rational object.

The Reviewer is either not aware of the fact, or conceals it from his readers, that some of the most important tribes never joined the British interest, but faithfully preserved their friendly relations with the United States. It is usual to consider the Indians as one people, with the same feelings, views, and policy. But they are broken into independent communities, frequently enemies and always rivals, claiming and occupying separate districts of country, and receiving for their cessions separate considerations.

The intercourse of the United States with the Delawares, had been varied and extensive, and they had gradually retired as our settlements advanced, ceding in succession the lands possessed by them; and at the declaration of war, they were established upon White river, an important tributary of the Wabash. They withstood every temptation, and not a Delaware raised a weapon against the United States, during the whole contest.

The Shawnese were also faithful. Their history is involved in much obscurity. Their language is Algonquin, and closely allied to the Kickapoo and other dialects, spoken by tribes, who have certainly lived for ages north of the Ohio. But they are known to have recently emigrated from the south, where they were surrounded by a family of tribes, Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, &c. with whose language their own had no known affinity. Their traditions assign to them a foreign origin, and

a wild story has come down to them of a solemn procession to the brink of the ocean, and of a miraculous passage through the great deep. That they are closely connected with the Kickapoos, the actual identity of language furnishes irrefragable proof, and the incidents of the separation yet live in the oral history of each tribe. We are strongly inclined to believe, that not long before the arrival of the French upon the great lakes, the Kickapoos and Shawnese composed the tribe, known as the Erie ; living on the southern shore of the Lake, to which they have given their name. It is said, that this tribe was exterminated by the victorious Iroquois. But it is more probable, that a series of disasters divided them into two parties, one of which, under the name of Kickapoos, sought refuge from their enemies in the immense prairies between the Illinois and Mississippi, and the other under the name of Shawnese fled into the Cherokee country, and thence farther south. Father Sagard in 1632, called the Eries, the *nation du chat*, or of the racoon, on account of the magnitude of those animals in their country ; and that is the *soubriquet*, which to this day is applied by the Canadians to the Shawnese. But however this may be, the tribe itself, like the Delawares, had been migratory, and had removed its council fire from place to place, as the white man advanced to extinguish it. They, too, had made important cessions, and occupied the country at the sources of the great Miami. Their relations with the United States were scrupulously preserved ; but Tecumthé and the Prophet, instigated by personal ambition, abandoned their brethren, and with a little party of seceders, estimated in the Quarterly at ‘ half a score,’ * passed over to the British camp.

The Miamies had long been stationary in the country between Lake Michigan and the Ohio, and had yielded to the United States, for valuable returns, valuable tracts of country. At the commencement of the war, and for some months afterwards, they adhered to their engagements, and forty of their warriors accompanied William Wells, who was sent to conduct the garrison of Chicago to Fort Wayne. When our operations in the northwest were palsied by imbecility, and one disaster seemed to make way for another, this tribe yielded to the combined effects of threats and promises, and accepted the tomahawk, which was tendered to them by the British officers

* Quarterly Review, No. 61, p. 107.

The Senecas, who also occupied a portion of the country, south of Lake Erie, were a shoot from the main stem in New York. They preserved their integrity with honorable firmness.

The history of the Wyandots, we shall presently examine. We have here but to remark, that their claims extended over important sections of the country, and that they were parties to various treaties, by which the American government had acquired extensive jurisdiction. The great body of the tribe resided upon the Sandusky river, and there its legitimate government was established. Neither people nor government abandoned their friends, nor forgot their duties.

These were the tribes upon our frontier, with whom our relations had been most complicated, and they were the tribes, who evinced the strongest disposition to remain neutral, or to join us in the contest.

The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomies are more closely connected, than any other tribes. They have one council fire, and almost an identity of interest. The Chippewas extend from Lake Erie far to the north and west, and their different bands have no common point of union, but manage their concerns like independent tribes. Those in the peninsula of Michigan are associated with the Ottawas and Potawatomies, and previously to the war of 1812, not an acre of the country belonging to these tribes, had ever been occupied by the United States. The settlements were confined to the districts, acquired by their predecessors, French and British, and although a cession of territory had been made in 1807, yet not a white man had settled upon it, and the entire usufruct was in the Indians. The northern Chippewas, the Menomones, the Winebagoes, and the Sioux, who are enumerated in the Quarterly as active *allies*, and who probably constituted three fourths of the British savage force, had never been brought into contact with the American government, nor ever ceded to it the smallest portion of their lands. Nor to this day has a rood of their country been bought, or claimed, or settled, or occupied. The little insulated communities at Green Bay and Praire du Chien are now, as they were at the capitulation of Montreal.

What then becomes of the pretext, that the Indians engaged in this war 'for the preservation of their territory?' When, in fact, those, who had ceded most, were most anxious to remain at peace. And when those, who had ceded nothing, and who

will for ages cede nothing, clutched the tomahawk with as little scruple as it was presented. Was it a provident regard for the future, that dictated to the aboriginal politicians the necessity of providing for events, which, if they ever come, must come when some mighty physical revolution shall render the southern coast of Lake Superior and the table land of the Mississippi pleasant residences for civilized man? Such prospective wisdom is rarely found among the Indians. It would disclose, not a mere trait of character, but a new feature of human nature, if these improvident beings, with whom the past is forgotten and the future contemned, and whose whole existence is absorbed in the present, should encounter the United States in war, lest their country might be sold after the lapse of centuries.

But it is felt, that some justification is necessary for this union of St George's cross and the Indian *Kukewium*,* and it is now discovered, that the christian troops were fighting the battles of the Indians. And whose battles were they fighting in the revolutionary war? What land had the infant government acquired, or what aggression had it committed? When the British ministry quailed before the eloquent invective of Chatham, it was said by Lord Suffolk in the House of Lords, that if they did not employ the Indians, the Americans would. How false this was, we have already shown. But the ministry adhered to their resolution, with a tenacity of purpose, which in a better cause would have merited the appellation of just inflexibility. As the alliance was consummated openly, better to avow it boldly. Better to avow at once, what no canting will ever conceal, that the savage '*cooperation*' was useful to the British troops; and it was therefore sought with an anxiety, no ways diminished by the ruthless consequences of its employment.

We shall now proceed to examine another subject, which may properly be considered in this place.

'The surrender of Hull,' says the Quarterly, 'had been shortly preceded by the accession of the tribe of Wyandots or Huron

* This is the Indian standard, and the word, which is Algonquin, means *something to stand by*. It is a long spear, with feathers attached to the staff from one end to the other, and issuing at right angles from it. The color of the feathers is variegated; and this ensign is borne by the chief warriors. Whenever it is displayed, the hostile parties well understand that there is neither peace nor truce, and that a battle alone can decide between them.

Indians, to our alliance. Inhabiting the banks of the Detroit river or strait, these people form a singular exception to the degeneracy, which usually attends the intercourse of the Indians with the whites. The Wyandots have all the energy of the savage warrior, with the intelligence and docility of civilized troops. They are christians,' &c. p. 103.

As the occurrence, here mentioned, forms no uninteresting episode, and develops the system of operations, by which the Indian alliance was secured, we shall give the history of the transaction, as *we know* it happened.

Charlevoix long since described the Wyandots as 'the nation of all Canada, the most remarkable for its defects and virtues.' When Jacques Cartier ascended the St Lawrence, he found them established near Hochelega, now Montreal; and when Champlain entered the same river, their war with the Iroquois had already commenced, and that enterprising officer accompanied one of their parties in a hostile expedition against their enemies. The events of that war were most disastrous, and they were driven from their country to the northern shore of Lake Huron. But distance afforded no security, and the Iroquois pursued them with relentless fury. Famine, disease, and war made frightful havoc among them, and the accounts of their sufferings, given by the old missionaries, who witnessed and shared them, almost task the belief of the reader. They were literally hunted from their resting place, and the feeble remnant of this once powerful and haughty tribe owed their preservation to the protection of the Sioux, in whose country, west of Lake Superior, they found safety and tranquillity. In a few years, however, the power of the Iroquois was crippled by their wars with the French, and the Wyandots descended Lake Superior, and occupied the land about old Michilimackinac. When the French fort at Detroit was first established in 1701, this tribe was invited to settle in its vicinity, and their services were important in resisting the hostile operations, which the Foxes long conducted against the infant colony. Their final migration was to the plains of Sandusky, and here they resided, when the ill fated expedition of Crawford was consummated by his horrible sacrifice at the stake.

This tribe is at the head of the great Indian family. How this preeminence was acquired, there is none now to tell. They were the guardians of the great council fire, and they alone had the privilege of sending their messengers, with the well

known credentials, wampum and tobacco, to summon the other tribes to meet their uncle, the Wyandot, when any important subject required general deliberation. In the calamities, occasioned by the victorious career of the Iroquois, the site of this fire had been often changed, but always with the prescribed ceremonial, and with proper notice to all, who had a right to convene around it. In 1812, the fire was at Brownstown, at the mouth of the Detroit river; but it was extinguished in blood. And the whole institution has now disappeared, and will soon be remembered only in the traditionary stories, which it is the province of age to repeat, and of youth to learn.

The Wyandots are divided into seven bands or tribes. There are three Turtle tribes; namely, the Little Turtle, the Water Turtle, and the Large Land Turtle tribes; the Porcupine tribe, the Deer tribe, the Bear tribe, and the Snake tribe. Their offices are in form elective, but in reality hereditary, and the succession is through the female line. A chief is succeeded by his sister's son, or by the nearest male relative in that descent. There was formerly a great chief, called Sarsaritzee, and by the English the Half King. But the office, not being suitable to the declining fortunes of the Wyandots, has been abolished. A peace chief is at the head of each tribe, and the chief of the Porcupine tribe is now the acknowledged head of the nation. The seven chiefs are called the counsellors, and they constitute the actual government of the Wyandots.

In 1812, Tarhé or the Crane, an aged and venerable man, was the principal chief of the Porcupine tribe of the Wyandot nation. He lived at Upper Sandusky, about one hundred miles from the mouth of the Detroit river, and there he was surrounded by his counsellors, and by almost all his people. A small party, amounting to about sixty persons, including men, women, and children, lived upon the River Aux Canards near Malden, in Canada, and another party of about two hundred and fifty persons, lived on the American shore of the Detroit river, nearly opposite the British post at its mouth. Such was the distribution of the Wyandot nation at the declaration of war in 1812.

When the Crane became satisfied, that a war between the United States and Great Britain was inevitable, he directed the proper measures to be taken for convening a general council at Brownstown; and alarmed at the situation of his own people,

he attended in person with his confidential counsellor, Between-the-logs, and with the principal Shawnese chief, Black-hoof. At this council the Wyandots were asked by the Potawatomes, Chippewas, and Ottawas, whether they intended to take hold of the British hatchet, which was offered to them. Walk-in-the-water, who was at the head of the Wyandots on the American side of the river Detroit, and was the chief speaker of the nation, answered; 'No, we will not take up the hatchet against our father the Long-knife. Our two fathers are about to fight, but we red men have no concern in their quarrel, and it is best for us to sit still, and remain neutral.' This advice was generally approved; but the result of the council having been communicated to the British authorities, immediate measures were taken to counteract a decision so adverse to their hopes. A council was convened at Malden, which was attended by the chiefs of the various tribes in the vicinity. Elliott, the Indian agent, and the British commanding officer were present. The former demanded of the Wyandots, whether they had advised the other tribes to remain neutral. To this, Walk-in-the-water answered; 'We have, and we believe it is best for us, and for our brethren. We have no wish to be involved in a war with our father, the Long-knife, for we know by experience, that we have nothing to gain by it, and we beg our father, the British, not to force us to war. We remember, in the former war between our fathers, the British and the Long-knife, we were both defeated, and we the red men lost our country; and you, our father, the British, made peace with the Long-knife, without our knowledge, and you gave our country to him. You still said to us, my children, you must fight for your country, for the Long-knife will take it from you. We did as you advised us, and we were defeated with the loss of our best chiefs and warriors, and of our land. And we still remember your conduct towards us, when we were defeated at the foot of the rapids of the Miami. We sought safety for our wounded in your fort. But what was your conduct? You closed your gates against us, and we had to retreat the best way we could. And then we made peace with the Americans, and have enjoyed peace with them ever since. And now you wish us, your red children, again to take up the hatchet against our father, the Long-knife. We say again, we do not wish to have any thing to do with the war. Fight your own battles, but let us, your red children, enjoy peace.'

Elliott here interrupted the speaker, and said; 'That is American talk, and I shall hear no more of it. If you do not stop, I will direct my soldiers to take you and the chiefs, and keep you prisoners, and will consider you as our enemies.' Walk-in-the-water then took his seat, to consult the other chiefs, and Round-head, who had openly espoused the British interest, and who was the chief of the small party of Wyandots living in Canada, immediately rose, and said; 'Father, listen to your children. You say, that the talk just delivered by my friend Walk-in-the-water, is American talk, and that you cannot hear any more of it; and if persisted in, you will take the chiefs prisoners, and treat them as enemies. Now hear me. I am a chief, and am acknowledged to be such. I speak the sentiments of the chiefs of the tribes, assembled round your council fire. I now come forward, and take hold of your war hatchet, and will assist you to fight against the Americans!' He was followed by Tecumth  and the Prophet, and by two Wyandot chiefs, Worrow and Split-log, the former residing in Canada, and the latter in the United States. Walk-in-the-water, and his associates, still declined the invitation. Elliott then arose and said; 'My children, I am now well pleased at what you have done; that you have accepted the hatchet of your British father, and are willing to assist him in fighting against the Americans. As for these men, my friend Walk-in-the-water, and the others, I shall bring them and their people to this side of the river, where I can have them under my own eye, for they are in my way at Brownstown.'

Walk-in-the-water made no reply, but left the council house, and recrossed the river, to communicate the result to the Crane. Apprehensive for his personal safety, the old chief and his attendants instantly left Brownstown, and returned to their people at Upper Sandusky. A detachment of the British troops, under the command of Captain Muir, with a party of the militia under Captain Caldwell, amounting to about three hundred men, accompanied by Round-head and Tecumth , with two hundred Indians, crossed the river the same night. They surrounded and took prisoners, the Brownstown Wyandots, and compelled them to embark in their boats. They were then carried to Malden. A few days before this occurrence, this party had sent a deputation to the American general at Detroit, at the head of which was Walk-in-the-water, representing their exposed condition, and requesting that a block

house might be erected at Brownstown for their defence. Why this obviously useful measure was not adopted, we cannot tell. The proposition evinces the earnest desire of the party to be protected in their neutrality. And this is the 'sagacity' displayed by the tribes, who 'hastened' to join the British troops.

But we shall develop the whole progress of this Wyandot '*alliance*,' as the incidents, connected with it, reflect much light upon the secret management of Indian '*cooperation*.'

About a year after this forced '*accession*,' the Crane proposed to General Harrison, who was then encamped with his army at Seneca, that a formal embassy should be sent by the Wyandots, to their brethren in the British camp, and to all the Indians, who adhered to the British cause, advising them to consult their true interest, and retire to their own country. The proposition was approved by General Harrison, and the Crane was requested to take such measures, as appeared most proper to give it effect.

Between-the-logs was appointed the ambassador, and a small escort of eight warriors, commanded by Skootash, the principal war chief of the nation, was selected to accompany him. Two speeches were sent by the Crane, one to be delivered privately to his own people, and the other publicly to the British Indians.

The Wyandot embassy arrived at Brownstown in safety, and the following morning a general council assembled to hear the message from their uncle. The multitude was prodigious, and Elliott and McKee, the British agents, were present. We have been told, that Between-the-logs arose in the midst of this host of enemies, and delivered with unshaken firmness the following speech from the Crane, which had been entrusted to him.

'Brothers, the red men, who are engaged in fighting for the British king, listen! These words are from me, Tarhé, and they are also the words of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shaw-nese, and Senecas.

'Our American father has raised his war pole, and collected a large army of his warriors. They will soon march to attack the British. He does not wish to destroy his red children, their wives, and families. He wishes you to separate yourselves from the British, and bury the hatchet you have raised. He will be merciful to you. You can then return to your own

lands, and hunt the game, as you formerly did. I request you to consider your situation, and act wisely in this important matter ; and not wantonly destroy your own people. Brothers, whoever feels disposed to accept this advice will come forward and take hold of this belt of wampum, which I have in my hand and offer to you. I hope you will not refuse to accept it in presence of your British father, for you are independent of him. Brothers, we have done, and we hope you will decide wisely.'

Not a hand moved to accept the offered pledge of peace. The spell was too potent to be broken by charms like these ; but Round-head arose, and addressed the embassy.

'Brothers, the Wyandots from the Americans, we have heard your talk, and will not listen to it. We will not forsake the standard of our British father, nor lay down the hatchet we have raised. I speak the sentiments of all now present, and I charge you, that you faithfully deliver our talk to the American commander, and tell him it is our wish he would send more men against us, for all that has passed between us, I do not call fighting. We are not satisfied with the number of men he sends to contend against us. We want to fight in good earnest.'

Elliott then spoke. 'My children ; as you now see that my children here are determined not to forsake the cause of their British father, I wish you to carry a message back with you. Tell my wife, your American father, that I want her to cook the provisions for me, and my red children, more faithfully than she has done. She has not done her duty. And if she receives this as an insult, and feels disposed to fight, tell her to bring more men, than she ever brought before, as our former skirmishes I do not call fighting. If she wishes to fight with me and my children, she must not burrow in the earth like a ground hog, where she is inaccessible. She must come out and fight fairly.'

To this, Between-the-logs replied. 'Brothers, I am directed by my American father to inform you, that if you reject the advice given you, he will march here with a large army, and if he should find any of the red people opposing him in his passage through this country, he will trample them under his feet. You cannot stand before him.

'And now for myself, I earnestly entreat you to consider the good talk I have brought, and listen to it. Why would you

devote yourselves, your women, and your children, to destruction? Let me tell you, if you should defeat the American army this time, you have not done. Another will come on, and if you defeat that, still another will appear, that you cannot withstand; one that will come like the waves of the great water, and overwhelm you, and sweep you from the face of the earth. If you doubt the account I give of the force of the Americans, you can send some of your people, in whom you have confidence, to examine their army and navy. They shall be permitted to return in safety. The truth is, your British father tells you lies, and deceives you. He boasts of the few victories he gains, but he never tells you of his defeats, of his armies being slaughtered, and his vessels taken on the big water. He keeps all these things to himself.

‘And now, father, let me address a few words to you. Your request shall be granted. I will bear your message to my American father. It is true, none of your children appear willing to forsake your standard, and it will be the worse for them. You compare the Americans to ground hogs, and complain of their mode of fighting. I must confess, that a ground hog is a very difficult animal to contend with. He has such sharp teeth, such an inflexible temper, and such an unconquerable spirit, that he is truly a dangerous enemy, especially when he is in his own hole. But, father, let me tell you, you can have your wish. Before many days, you will see the ground hog come floating on yonder lake, paddling his canoe towards your hole; and then, father, you will have an opportunity of attacking your formidable enemy in any way, you may think best.’

This speech terminated the proceedings of the council. All the Indians, except the Wyandots, dispersed, and they secretly assembled to hear the message sent to them by their own chief.

Governments frequently preserve their forms, long after essential changes occur in their institutions, and the Turkish edicts are yet dated from the Imperial stirrup, although the successors of Amurath have long since exchanged the camp for the seraglio. The Crane’s message was a peremptory mandate, evincing in its manner, that the time has been, when sterner authority was exercised by the Wyandot chiefs, than they would now assume, or the warriors obey.

The Wyandots were directed to quit Skorah* immediately. They were said to be liars and deceivers, and that they had always deceived the Indians. And facts, in evidence of this, were quoted. The building of Fort Miami was particularly referred to. It was said to be erected as a refuge for the Indians, but when they were overpowered by Wayne, the gates were shut against them.† The comparative strength of General Harrison's army and of the British forces was concealed from them, and they were in a very dangerous condition.

This message was faithfully delivered to the Wyandots, and produced its full effect upon them. They requested Between-the-logs to inform the Crane, that they were in fact prisoners, but that they had taken firm hold of his belt of wampum, and would not fire another gun. They promised, that on the advance of the American army, they would quit the British troops, as soon as it was safe to take that decisive measure. And such in fact was the result. When Proctor left the country, his Wyandot allies abandoned him, a few miles from the mouth of the River Tranche and retired into the forest. Thence they sent a message to General Harrison, imploring his mercy.

But this formal interposition of the tribe, which has stood for ages at the head of the great Indian confederacy, produced an excitement, visible and menacing. To counteract it, the usual means were employed, and the embassy was directed to leave the country instantly. So apprehensive were their friends, that even the sacred character attached to them, would not protect them from the machinations of Elliott, that a party of the warriors accompanied them, some miles on their return. No sinister accident however occurred.‡ But we return to the Reviewer.

‘A watchful care and a fortunate degree of influence over our Indian allies, prevented the infliction of such enormities in the

* The *British*, in the Huron dialect.

† The Crane was wounded in this action, and the loss fell heavily upon the Wyandots.

‡ Every Indian speech is accompanied by its appropriate belt, which is deposited with the chief speaker. These belts constitute the records of the tribe. They are formed of wampum, which is small beads manufactured from shells for this purpose. These beads are strung upon sinews, and are then united into a belt. The beads are generally white, blue, or black, and a symbolical meaning is attached to their distribution. The memory is aided by the faculty of association, and the speeches are repeated at stated intervals, and thus preserved for posterity. We have seen a very ancient belt of the Wyandots, and heard

Canadian war, and after the moment of slaughter in action, the Indians yielded their prisoners to our ransom.' p. 100.

'And the exertions of our officers which so generally obtained quarter for the prisoners, who fell into their hands,' &c. p. 102.

'It was customary for the British to secure the lives of prisoners, by paying head money for every American delivered up in safety by the Indians.' p. 106.

'*A watchful care and fortunate degree of influence!*' Never have public and notorious facts been so openly contemned. The writer of this article could not have known the extensive circulation of the journal, in which his misrepresentations have been embodied. He could not have known, that it would reach those, who had heard the Indian war whoop; who had seen these atrocious cruelties, which yet flit, like pale spectres, across the memory. This affectation of mercy, and of merciful exertions, we shall proceed to expose, and to reveal some of the horrible enormities which are here passed over.

We have already seen the official account in the Quebec Gazette, of the four or five hundred men, who were slaughtered by the Indians at the battle of the River Raisin in 1813, because they attempted to effect their escape. This account is signed by Edmund Baynes, Adjutant General, and there is inserted in it the following complimentary notice. 'The Indian chief, Round-head, with his band of warriors, rendered essential service by his bravery and good conduct.' But the most authentic evidence yet exists, of the barbarities, which were perpetrated upon the prisoners taken in this '*brilliant*

the speech repeated in a language, bearing little resemblance to that now spoken by them.

The facts connected with this deportation of the Wyandots and the embassy from the Crane, we have received from Mrs Walker, a respectable half Wyandot woman, and her two sons, Isaac and William. The former is the public interpreter at Upper Sandusky, and the latter is the teacher of the Missionary school at that place. Both are intelligent and well educated, and both are men of integrity. They and their mother were with the Wyandots of Brownstown, and were taken across the Detroit River. And they were present at the great council, where Between-the-logs delivered his speech.

We are also indebted to Mr Stickney, then the United States agent for the Wyandots, for his account of the transaction. And we may add, that the general facts respecting the capture of these people were known to us at the time; and that we were present, when the ambassador received his instructions; and we heard the Crane, when he made his report to General Harrison of the result.

action.' We shall introduce a part of it here, and leave to our readers to judge for themselves, of the '*watchful care, and fortunate degree of influence,*' which are thus loudly proclaimed to the world. The facts which we are about to quote, were taken at the time from eye witnesses under oath, whose names are attached to their testimony. *

'Joseph Robert says, that on the next day after the battle on the River Raisin, a short time after sunrise, he saw the Indians kill the American prisoners with their tomahawks; that the Indians set the houses on fire, and that in going out, the prisoners were massacred and killed as aforesaid; that is, three were shot, the others were killed in the houses and burned in the houses.'

'Antoine Boulard says, that on the next day after the last battle at the River aux Raisins, he saw the Indians kill the Secretary of the American General, who was on the horse of the Indian who had taken him prisoner, with a rifle shot; that the prisoner fell on one side, and an Indian came forward with a sabre, finished him, scalped him, and carried away his clothes. The body remained two days on the high way, before the door of the deponent.'

'Louis Bernard states the same fact, respecting the massacre of the Secretary of the American General, and also, "that on the next day after the battle, I was near the house of Gabriel Godfrey, Junior, and the house of Jean Baptiste Jereau, where a great number of prisoners were collected, and that I heard the screaming of the prisoners, whom the Indians were tomahawking; that the savages set the houses on fire,"' &c.

Ensign Baker was left by General Winchester to take care of the prisoners, and in his report of these outrages, after stating the names of many whom he knew to have been killed by the Indians subsequently to the battle, adds,

'Many fresh scalps have been brought in since the battle, and dead bodies seen through the country, which proves that others have been killed whose names I have not been able to find out, independent of those reported to Colonel Proctor.

'The fifteen or eighteen mentioned in the remarks to the return made to Colonel Proctor, whose names do not appear, were not known by those who saw them killed.'

'For the greatest number of our unfortunate fellow citizens being sent from Detroit, we are indebted to the exertions of our

*The documents in full may be found in Niles's Register, Vol. IV. pp. 92, 93. They were transmitted to our Government by Judge Woodward in March, 1813.

fellow citizens there, who with unexampled generosity,' &c. 'lavished their wealth for their ransom.'

'Hubert Lacroix deposes, that on the day succeeding the massacre at the River Raisin, he was proceeding from the battle ground of the preceding day to Sandy Creek in company with another person, and on arriving near the creek, their attention was attracted by violent screams, apparently of some one in extreme terror or agony, issuing from a house near them. After hesitating a moment, they cautiously approached the house and looked in, when they saw standing in the middle of the room a wounded American soldier, bound hand and foot and tied to a stake. Bundles of straw were attached to him, as high as his breast, and around him, singing a death song, were dancing a number of Indians, with lighted torches in their hands, with which at short intervals, they kindled the straw around the prisoner. The next morning the deponent saw the dead body of the prisoner, mangled and half burned, lying in the door yard before the house, where it had been thrown by the Indians, as soon as death had put a period to their tortures.'

To this we might add the mass of testimony presented to a committee of the House of Representatives appointed to examine the subject, and all tending to confirm the same shocking facts; as well as innumerable proofs from other quarters. But we forbear. These details are as afflicting to us as they can be to our readers, and we shall therefore only refer to the massacres, which followed the surrender of Colonel Dudley's detachment on the north side of the Miami on the 5th of May, 1813. The particulars will be found in the public journals of the times.* A large body of the prisoners was placed within the walls of old Fort Miami, and many of them were assassinated by the Indians, who passed the British centinels, and attacked these unarmed men. We never knew the number of those, who were thus massacred. An honest half Shawnese, Joseph Parks, has more than once described the scene to us, and stated, that he saw one Potawatomie kill three prisoners.

But we here terminate this recital of horrors, and pass by the conflagrations and murders, which studded our exposed frontier with burning dwellings and mangled corpses, from Lake Erie to the gulf of Mexico.

'It was customary,' says the Quarterly again, 'for the British to secure the lives of the prisoners, by paying head money for

* See Niles's Register, May 22 and 29, 1813.

every American delivered up in safety by the Indians ; and this measure was generally successful.' pp. 105, 106.

We shall probe this matter to the bottom. The war was commenced in June, 1812, and the cooperation of the British and Indians was confined almost exclusively to the northwestern frontier. The services of the Indians upon the Niagara and St Lawrence were scarcely felt, and certainly produced no effect upon the operations of the war. Incursions were made upon our territory, in that quarter, in a few instances only, and there were no aggressions there to mark the '*alliance*.' The surrender of Detroit opened our whole frontier to the enemy, and it required the most vigorous exertions for many months to retrieve the effects of this unlooked for disaster. During this period, Winchester's troops were defeated at the River Raisin, Fort Meigs was twice besieged, and an attempt was made to carry Lower Sandusky, by a *coup de main*. This last attack was made on the 2d of August, 1813, and it terminated the offensive operations of the British in this quarter. General Harrison had been embodying and disciplining his troops, and collecting all the necessary *matériel*, preparatory to those vigorous measures, which were eventually so honorable to himself, and so useful to his country. Proctor retreated from Sandusky, without capturing a single prisoner, and of course without the opportunity of '*ransoming*' any. The Moravian Towns on the river Tranche were the next place, where he saw the American troops, and here his force was annihilated, and his Indian allies scattered like leaves before the blast. This authority to pay *head money* was first given in a general order issued by Sir George Provost, dated at Kingston, July 20th, 1813.

'With a view to *soften and restrain* the Indian warriors in their conduct towards such Americans, as may be made by them prisoners of war, his Excellency is pleased to approve of the following arrangements, submitted by that board, and directs that the same be acted on, namely, among other things, 'for head money upon prisoners of war, brought in by Indians, allowance should be made to them for each prisoner brought in alive of FIVE DOLLARS !'

After the war had existed more than a year, and unheard of barbarities had been inflicted upon our captured troops, and the storm, which at last overwhelmed the British army in the northwest, was gathering and approaching, this order appears.

The proffered reward never saved a single human being ; and for the most conclusive of all reasons, because not a human being was taken by the Indians *after its promulgation*. The massacres we have related, all occurred before this humane attempt '*to soften and restrain the Indian warriors.*' And this effect is to be produced by a gratuity of *five dollars* ! Not enough as we have seen, to buy a butcher knife ! The hand of the warrior, in the excitement of battle, is to be stayed by this paltry sum ! The miserable victim of savage caprice is to be protected during the paroxysms of fury and intoxication, to which he is exposed in the camps and villages of the Indians, by the cupidity of his master, who is to receive five dollars ! We ask seriously, how much more was given for the dead scalp, than the living head ? Let those answer, who can. For ourselves, *we know*, that every successful war party, on its return, was taken to the public store, and profusely supplied with clothing and other necessary articles.

We shall now introduce unquestionable evidence to show, that so far from any real attempt to *soften and restrain* the Indians, the citizens of the subjugated Territory of Michigan, were actually prohibited by the British authorities from rescuing their suffering countrymen, by purchasing them of the Indians.* The British General, Proctor, is now beyond the reach of human judgment. What motive induced him to issue an order, so shocking both in its immediate and remote consequences, we cannot tell, nor can any of the respectable gentlemen, who have signed the statement below. Persons most charitably disposed will attribute the measure to some unknown

* 'We, whose signatures are to this paper, were in this country during the whole occupation of it by the British troops in 1812 and 1813. It is within our knowledge, that during that period, no American prisoner was redeemed from the Indians by the British government by the payment of his ransom ; that an express official order was issued prohibiting the American citizens from ransoming such prisoners ; and that until such prohibition the citizens of the country redeemed such prisoners whenever it was in their power. The average value at which the American prisoners were held by the Indians was not less than fifty dollars.—[Signed.] Robert Smart, John Whipple, Oliver W. Miller, Peter J. Desnoyer, Antoine Dequindre, J. McDonell, Joseph Spencer, William Meldrum, Laurent Durocher.'

'I am well acquainted with all the persons, who have signed the preceding statement, and know them to be respectable and intelligent, and entitled to full credit.—[Signed.] Solomon Sibley, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan.'

effect upon the active operations, in which he was engaged; while others will seek a solution in his personal character, and in the policy of inspiring his enemies with terror.

But whatever doubt there may be respecting the motive, there is none of the fact. It is as well known as any other occurrence, which marked the dark year of British domination in Michigan, and now constitutes part of her history.

But there is another document, which *we have seen*, and which was never intended for an American eye, that affords a practical commentary upon this plan of '*softening and restraining the Indian warriors.*' It was an original letter from General Brock to Proctor, apparently in the handwriting of the former, and dated the day preceding his death. It was found among the papers of Proctor, which were captured after the action at the Moravian Towns, and was first discovered by Lieutenant Norton, Aid de camp to the general officer, who then commanded upon that frontier, and was generally read by the officers. The purport of this letter was as follows.

'You say you had thoughts of using the force under your command to restrain the Indians from committing depredations on the inhabitants. The person or persons who have advised you to a course of this kind, cannot be friendly to our government. I would advise you to beware of them. This species of force is necessary to us, and *they must be indulged.*'

The pretended '*butcheries,*' '*massacres,*' and '*murders,*' after the actions at Tippecanoe, the Massasinewa, and the Moravian Towns, are vile fabrications. We use strong terms, but the following letter from the able general, who personally commanded in two of those actions, and by whose orders the expedition was undertaken, which led to the other, will prove that the terms are no stronger than the circumstances fairly justify.

'SIR,—In answer to your inquiries respecting the statement in the sixtyfirst Number of the London Quarterly Review of the murders committed by the American troops upon the Indians, after the battles of Tippecanoe and at the Moravian Towns, and at the attack upon the Indian settlements in the autumn of 1812, alluding, I presume, to Colonel Campbell's expedition to the Massasinewa, I have to state that the entire account is a base calumny, unsupported by the slightest testimony, and wholly and absolutely false.

'Not an indian woman, nor child, living or dead, was seen at or subsequent to the battle at the Moravian Towns. They had all

been secreted in the forest, before the approach of the American troops, nor was one of them discovered by us. Nor was a wounded Indian warrior left upon the field. Agreeably to the uniform custom of the Indians, all who were not killed, were removed by them, and the situation of the army, and the nature of the country forbade all pursuit.

Colonel Campbell, in his attack upon an Indian town, the day preceding the action at the Massasinewa, killed seven Indian warriors and captured thirtyseven men, women, and children. The next morning he was himself attacked, and after a vigorous contest, the Indians were repulsed with considerable loss. During this action his prisoners were protected, and not one of them was injured. They were all brought in safety to the settlements, except some who were dismissed with messages to the Indians. An Indian child was carried by Colonel Ball, the second in command, upon his horse, and his life was thus preserved.

At Tippecanoe our troops were attacked by the Indians, who occupied a formidable position in a fortified town, near the site of our encampment. The attack was made before day on the morning of November 7th, 1811, and after the Indians were repulsed, they retired to their town, and thence they sought secrecy and security in the forest. The American troops did not enter the town till the eighth, when it was found wholly abandoned except by one old decrepid squaw, who was supplied with provisions and left unharmed. Not an Indian family was seen during the whole expedition. Two wounded Indian warriors were taken, both of whom were carefully attended. One of them died on the following day, and the other, a distinguished Potawatomie chief, was left on the ground, at his own earnest request, with every thing necessary to his comfort. He was found by his friends a few hours after our army had commenced its retrograde march. He lived some weeks after, but died from an attempt to amputate his wounded leg with a tomahawk. I had offered to have this operation performed by the army surgeons, but he could not be prevailed on to have it done. These two warriors and the squaw were the only living Indians seen subsequent to the battle.

I am, &c.

W. H. HARRISON.

Our testimony is feeble and useless after this decisive refutation, but we cannot refrain from saying, that the statement of General Harrison respecting the battle at the Moravian Towns is in coincidence with our distinct recollection.

As to what is said of 'the more recent and authorized horrors of General Jackson's Seminole war,' which Mr Buchanan declares, 'he has deemed it *prudent* to omit in his work,' we

suppose it refers to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and of the Indian Prophet, who instigated his countrymen to war. The following observations are annexed in the form of a note to the words just quoted. 'It is curious to connect this caution on Mr Buchanan's part with the assurance which almost immediately follows on the same page, that "the kindness and civility, which he has experienced from all ranks in the United States, he shall ever be ready to acknowledge." And this, too, is *prudence*.' We confess, that we comprehend the meaning of Mr Buchanan, as little as we do the point of the note. His Majesty's consul will never meet the fate, nor obtain the crown of martyrdom, if his other virtues be not more strongly tempted, than was his prudence here. Certainly he could not mean to insinuate that there was any *danger*, either to his person or to his social intercourse in the examination of a transaction, whose details had been published in every newspaper, and discussed in every political circle in the Union; which had formed the subject of inquiry in the Senate and House of Representatives, and upon which a committee in each of those bodies had reported unfavorably; and which had furnished matter for a serious diplomatic correspondence between our government and the British and Spanish authorities.

To this correspondence we may safely refer all, who have yet any interest in investigating the occurrences of the Seminole campaign, and the conduct of the commanding General. With many it has been a triumphant vindication, and with others a satisfactory justification; and all have felt the force of the argument, and acknowledged the perspicacity of the writer on the part of the United States. General Jackson is no favorite with the English journalists, nor is it natural he should be, till the affair of New Orleans can be forgotten. His fame must rest upon the affections of his countrymen, and upon his own splendid achievements. They are proud and durable monuments.

We shall now examine some of the other facts, stated in this article. They are, perhaps, not very important, but as they were thought worth fabricating, they are worth refuting. 'For these *truths*,' says the *Quarterly*, 'we will pledge ourselves.' (p. 100.) How indiscreetly this pledge has been given, and how tardily it will be redeemed, we shall presently see.

'Every man who has served in that country, can attest the fact, that the Kentuckians invariably carry the tomahawk and scalping

knife into action, and are dexterous in using them. It is well authenticated, that the first scalp taken in the late war, was torn from the head of a lifeless Indian by the teeth of a captain in the American service. This wretch, whose name was McCulloch, was killed in a skirmish on the 5th of August, 1812, and in his pocket was found a letter to his wife, boasting, that on the 15th of the preceding month, a few days after the opening of the war, when an Indian had been killed on the river Canard, and was found scalped, he had performed the exploit.' p. 102.

The character of the Kentuckians is beyond the reach of *tirades* like this. We know them well. They are generous, hospitable, high spirited, and patriotic; fearing nothing and regarding nothing in the heat of battle; but kind and humane when the battle is over. Their exertions and those of their sister state, Ohio, in support of the late war, will be recorded among the proudest events of American history. Their citizens voluntarily joined the standard of their country at New Orleans and on the northern shore of lake Erie.

Every hunter or woodsman carries a knife, whenever his occupations lead him into the forest. It is as necessary to him as his rifle and blanket. Without it, he could not skin and dress his game, nor strike his fire, nor cut a stick, nor prepare for encampment, nor divide his victuals, nor perform the thousand offices, where such an instrument is required. But this writer probably supposed, that every night, a comfortable table, with its knives and forks, and other apparatus, is spread for the citizen soldier, who mounts his horse at the summons of his country, and is soon lost to all but himself and his companions, in the everlasting solitude of pathless forests. Here, his roof is the heavens, his pillow a saddle, his bed a blanket, a pointed stick his only culinary utensil, and his knife the only manual instrument. And how long is it, since similar implements were carried by the Highlanders, and since 'the clanking of knives and forks, lifted from the table, above the salt, and *drawn from the sheath* below it,' was heard at Highland dinners? And these hardy mountaineers, and we speak it seriously, were as likely to scalp their living companions, as the Kentuckians to inflict outrages upon a dead or dying savage. It may be, that such gross violations of decency and humanity were committed. Individual passions cannot always be restrained, but the man and the deed would be reprobated, as generally and as vehemently in Kentucky as in London.

The story of the *first scalp torn from the head of an Indian by Captain McCulloch*, we shall tell in few words. The first scalp taken during the late war between the United States and Great Britain, was torn from the head of a British soldier by an Indian in the *British service*, and carried to Malden, we presume for the customary reward. For this fact, we can appeal to the gallant General Miller, to Colonel Snelling, and other living officers, to whom the occurrences, which we shall relate, are well known.

Soon after General Hull crossed the Detroit river, a detachment was ordered to advance towards Malden, and observe the position of the enemy. A British party was stationed to protect the bridge over the River aux Canards, and when the American detachment arrived near that river, one company was directed to advance along the road, concealing as long as possible their approach, and to fire upon the British party, as soon as they discovered the main body of the detachment in the rear. To attain a position in the rear, the river was crossed a few miles above the bridge, and when the advancing detachment was descried, the British party was attacked, and instantly fled. The sentinel upon the bridge was killed, and another man wounded; and from this simple occurrence, where there was almost no fighting, and certainly no resistance, Sir George Provost favored the world with a specimen of military fanfaronade, to which no equal can be found except in Hudibras. His order is dated August 6th, 1812, and in it, he talks of the 'heroism and self devotion displayed by two privates, who being left as sentinels, when the party, to which they belonged, *retired*, continued to maintain their situation against the whole of the enemy's force, until they both fell, when one of them, again raising himself, opposed with his bayonet those advancing upon him, till he was overwhelmed by numbers,' &c. The soldier, who was killed, was buried near the spot, and as soon as the detachment retired, he was disinterred by the Indians, and his scalp taken off and carried to Malden.

McCulloch had in early life been taken prisoner by the Indians. Their manners and habits were familiar to him, and he had married a half Wyandot woman. He was employed as one of the guides of General Hull's army, and when that army reached Detroit, he voluntarily crossed over to Canada, anxious, no doubt, to participate in scenes, which recalled the

incidents of his early youth. He remained with the army but a few days, and was killed on his return. We believe he shot an Indian in a skirmish, while in Canada, and, without however knowing the fact, we may well admit, that he scalped him. He had often fought with the Indians, and his memory was stored with many a tale of their barbarities, and his passions excited to revenge them. The *dental* tearing of the scalp, is doubtless a gratuitous ornament of the writer of this article, to place the story in bolder relief. Was this too in the letter, or was the narrator present to witness an operation, which might bid defiance to a tiger's teeth? As to the captaincy, it is another fabrication. McCulloch was as much a captain in the army of the Grand Lama, as in the American service. He was, as we have seen, a guide—a pilot, through an ocean of forest.

And is this laceration of a dead body, inhuman as it is, to be an offset against a system of pecuniary rewards, which led to murders, that the prescribed voucher might be obtained for their payment? Many of these facts are known to ourselves. And for others, we refer to living witnesses, or to publications or documents, which have long been before the public.

Before quite closing our long article, we must beg the patience of our readers to listen one moment to a curious story told by the Quarterly.

‘After Hull’s advance into Canada, the little river Canard for some time separated our troops from the enemy; its banks were overgrown with long rushes and rank grass, and the Indians frequently crossing it in their canoes, found cover to watch every motion of the enemy’s outposts. One morning a small picquet of twelve or fourteen Americans, were sent forward to the river to reconnoitre, and were observed in their advance by a single Indian, who lay concealed among the rushes. He marked out one of the party, fired, and killed him. While the smoke of his rifle was dissipating, he had already crept round to the rear of the picquet, who had just time to pour a volley into the spot, which he had quitted, when a second shot from behind them, brought another of their companions to the earth. The fire of the party was ineffectually repeated, and immediately followed by a third bullet, as deadly as the two first, from an opposite quarter. Then believing themselves surrounded, and panic struck at the unerring discharge of their enemy, the party precipitately retreated, and left the field to the Indian.’ p. 103.

If one man can be found from Johnny Groat’s house to the Land’s End, who believes this idle rhodomontade, our estimate

of British intelligence has been higher than it should be. There is not a tree nor a bush, within a mile of the spot, where this *brilliant exploit* was achieved. Memory has placed before us the whole panorama, freshly and vividly. The little sluggish stream winds its devious course through an extensive prairie, as level as the noble strait which bounds it, and but little elevated above it; affording no shelter for an ambush, nor safety against an attack. Yet here, a party of fourteen men, woodsmen too, is *surrounded* in broad day, by a single Indian, who fires and succeeds in obtaining their rear, enveloped in the smoke of his own rifle, while they are firing where he *was*! And three times he thus fires, travelling the circumference of the circle, while his bewildered enemy is employed in facing about, and attacking, not the *shadow*, but the *smoke*! We have seen something of Indian fighting, and know, that in the forests, and behind trees and logs, they are formidable, and even terrible assailants. And when the sleep of the soldier is broken by the war whoop, the firmest heart may well confess its fearful anxiety. But this wonderful improvement in aboriginal tactics, this *ambulatory ambuscade*, we had yet to learn. Certainly the Monk of Canterbury could not have invented gunpowder. This stratagem would seem to afford an explanation of the mode, in which the Trojan adventurer, unharmed and unobserved, advanced to the very palace of the Carthaginian queen. The *neque cernitur ulli* must refer to the very hero of the River Canards.

Infer se septus nebula, mirabile dictu,

Per medios, miscetque viris; neque cernitur ulli.

But lest the Reviewer should lay the flattering 'unction to his soul,' that the trifling skirmishes upon the River Canards, prevented the passage of the American troops, we can tell him, that after the first attack, when the British detachment was driven into Malden, and possession obtained of the bridge, the American parties were expressly prohibited by their commander from crossing that river. For the truth of this fact, we appeal to General Miller, to General McArthur, and to General Findlay. That stream was the *impassable gulf*, beyond which our troops might gaze, but over which they could not pass. We do not here investigate the motives of the American general. That is the province of history.

Our task is finished. Much of it has afforded us no pleasure. But the glove was thrown down, and recreant indeed

should we of this country prove, were there none willing to take it up. The charges were made in no measured terms, and the manner and the matter were equally exceptionable. In their examination, we have been necessarily led to investigate facts, some of which were never thus publicly disclosed, and others had passed away, and were forgotten. Although, when grouped together, they present scenes at which humanity shudders, yet they are the lessons of history; and profitable lessons too, if they prevent the recurrence of similar enormities, or if they produce any permanent improvement in the condition of the Indians. The experience of the past is only valuable, as it influences the present and the future. History can never become 'philosophy teaching by example,' if we exclude from its records all transactions to which the parties cannot look back with complacency. To the mariner, the buoy that marks the sunken rock and warns him to avoid it, is not less dear, than the beacon which discovers his destined port and invites him to enter. The massacre of St Bartholomew's, the Sicilian Vespers, the Noyades of the Loire, the martyrdoms of Smithfield, and the infinite multitude of events, which exhibit the ascendancy of pernicious passions, are yet useful memorials for after ages. History, and even modern history, is already sufficiently fabulous, without a *suppressio veri*, which will leave to posterity little more than a knowledge, that battles were fought, and kingdoms won.

Many of the facts, which we have stated, will be new to the British nation. Indifference to the sufferings of others is no trait of their character, and it is not probable, that either they or their government were ever fully aware of the horrors, which attended the employment of the savages. The scene of action was far distant, their feelings were excited by war, and the facts were systematically concealed or misrepresented, by those, who conducted their operations in this hemisphere. Were it even in our power, it would afford us no pleasure to lower the rank of England in the general scale of national character. It was the land of our forefathers. We are connected with England by many a grateful recollection, by many a sympathetic feeling, by the ties of consanguinity, by the bonds of a common language and a common religion, and by kindred habits, feelings, and pursuits. In all that is valuable in life, in literature, in science, and in the arts, she has contributed her full proportion to the general stock.

But while we award this justice, we may be permitted to express our regret, that discussions, such as we have now spread before our readers, are ever rendered necessary by the violent attacks of the British press upon the mind and manners of this country. Who is to profit by this warfare, we are unable to conjecture. Even while we are writing these remarks, we perceive that one of the most respectable of the English journals has recently travelled out of its course to observe, that '*we are not fond of relying upon American reports.*'* And what is gained by this affectation of contempt? The malice is ineffectual, the dart falls *imbecili ictu*, and the world is at no loss to attribute such coarse invective to the remembrance of events that have happened, or still more to gloomy visions of those, which may happen. Whatever we are, or are to be, we are far beyond the reach of mere literary denunciations, which, however they may gratify malevolence abroad, or provoke irritation at home, can never impede our progress in the career of national improvement.

How much more honorable would it be, and we cheerfully add, how much more becoming the British character, to cherish kindly feelings; to look back upon the little band of pilgrims, who sought liberty of action and of conscience beyond the ocean, and who carried with them the spirit of those institutions, which, in their native land and in their newly sought home, have secured so much national prosperity and private happiness; and to look forward to the United States, as the great depository of English literature and science and arts, and the living evidence of English intelligence and principles, when her own insular monuments shall be swept away, as all things else have been swept away, by the rolling tide of time. Sincerely do we hope that her day of glory will not be shrouded in a night of gloom; but what has happened to other nations may happen to her; and the traveller may yet inquire for the site of London, as we now inquire for those of Nineveh and Babylon.

* Retrospective Review. Article, Pontoppidan's Natural History of Norway.

- ART. VI.—1. *The League of the Alps, The Siege of Valencia, The Vespers of Palermo, and other Poems.* By MRS FELICIA HEMANS. Boston. 1826. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 8vo. pp. 480.
2. *The Forest Sanctuary, and other Poems.* By MRS FELICIA HEMANS. Boston. 1827. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 8vo. pp. 232.

THE collection of Mrs Hemans's miscellaneous Poems opens with verses in honor of the Pilgrim Fathers. She has celebrated with solemnity and truth the circumstances which give sublimity to the glorious scene of their landing, and their descendants cannot but be pleased to see the devotedness, displayed by them, introduced into poetry, and incorporated among the bright examples, held up by the inventive as well as the historic muse for the admiration of mankind.

Freedom, not licentiousness, religious freedom, not the absence of religious rites, was the object for which the fathers came. An air of earnestness was thus originally imparted to the character of the country, and succeeding ages have not worn it away. Though it may suit the humor of moralizers to declaim against the degeneracy of the times, we believe that the country has of late years made advances in moral worth. We infer this from the more general diffusion of intelligence and the higher standard of learning; from the spirit of healthy action pervading all classes; from the diminished number of crimes; from the general security of property; from the rapid multiplication of Sabbath schools, than which no discovery of our age has been more important for the moral education of the people; from the philanthropy which seeks for the sources of vice, and restrains it by removing its causes; from the active and compassionate benevolence, which does not allow itself to consider any class so vicious or so degraded as to have forfeited its claim to humane attention, which seeks and relieves misery wherever it is concealed, and, embracing every continent in its regard, has its messengers in the remotest regions of the world. Religious freedom is the last right, which even in our days the inhabitants of this country would surrender. It would be easier to drive them from their houses and their lands, than to take from them the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience. There is no general assertion of this right,

and no energetic display of zeal in maintaining it, solely because it is menaced by no alarming danger.

In a state of society like ours, there may be little room for the exercise of those arts, of which it is the chief aim to amuse and delight ; and yet attention is by no means confined to those objects, which are directly connected with the advancement of personal or public wealth. For the costly luxuries of life and even for its elegant pleasures, there may as yet be little room ; and still the morality of the nation be far from forming itself on the new system of morals, devised by our political economists. There has been no age, we assert it with confidence, there has been no people, where the efforts of mind, directly connected with the preservation of elevated feeling and religious earnestness, are more valued than they are by the better part of our own community. We cannot support, or we hold it not best to support, an expensive religious establishment, but every where the voice of religious homage and instruction is heard ; we cannot set apart large estates to give splendor to literary distinction ; but you will hardly find a retired nook, where only a few families seek their shelter near each other, so destitute, that the elements of knowledge are not freely taught ; we cannot establish galleries for the various works of the arts of design, but the eye that can see the beauties of nature is common with us, and the recital of deeds of high worth meets with ready listeners. The luxuries, which are for display, are exceedingly little known ; but the highest value is set on every effort of mind connected with the investigation of truth, or the nurture of generous and elevated sentiments.

Where the public mind had been thus formed, the poetry of Mrs Hemans was sure to find admirers. The exercise of genius, if connected with no respect for virtue, might have remained unnoticed ; the theory, which treats of beauty, as of something independent of moral effect, is still without advocates among us. It has thus far been an undisputed axiom, that if a production is indecent or immoral, it for that very reason cannot claim to be considered beautiful.

We do not go so far as to assert, that there can be no merit in works of which the general tendency is immoral ; but the merit, if there is any, does not lie in the immoral part, in the charm that is thrown round vice, but rather in an occasional gleam of better principles, in nature occasionally making her

voice heard above the din of the dissolute, in the pictures of loveliness and moral truth, that shine out through the darkness. Amidst all the horrors and depravity of superstition, the strange and the abominable vagaries of the human imagination, exercised on religion in heathenish ignorance, the observing mind may yet recognise the spirit that connects man with a better world. And so it is with poetry ; amidst all the confusion which is manifest where the heavenly gift is under the control of a corrupted judgment, something of its native lustre will still appear. When we see the poet of transcendant genius, delineating anything but the higher part of our nature, when we observe how, after borrowing fiendish colors, he describes states of mind, with which devils only should have sympathy, rails at human nature in a style which spiteful misanthropy alone can approve, or gives descriptions of sensuality, fit only for the revels of Comus, when we see him 'hurried down the adulterate age, adding pollutions of his own,' we can have little to say to excuse or to justify an admiration of poetic talent, till we are reconciled to human nature and the muse by the pure lustre of better guided minds.

In what view of the subject can it be held a proper design of poetry to render man hateful to himself? How can it delight or instruct us to see our fellow men, ranged under the two classes of designing villains, and weak dupes? Or what sources of poetic inspiration are left, if all the relations of social life are held up to derision, and every generous impulse scorned as the result of deluded confidence?

To demand that what is called *poetical justice* should be found in every performance may be unreasonable, since the events of life do not warrant us in expecting it ; but we may demand what is of much more importance, *moral justice*, a consistency of character, a conformity of the mind to its career of action. It may not be inconsistent with reality, though it is with probability, that an unprincipled miscreant, governing himself in his gratifications by the narrowest selfishness, should be successful in his pursuits ; but it is unnatural and false to give to such a nature any of the attributes of goodness. Vice is essentially mean and low ; it has no dignity, no courage, no beauty ; and while the poet can never impart to a production, tending to promote vice, the power and interest which belong to the worthy delineation of honorable actions, he can never invest a false heart with the noble qualities of a generous one.

Observe in this respect the manner of the dramatic poet, who is acknowledged to have delineated the passions with the greatest fidelity. Shakspeare describes the mind as gradually sinking under the influence of the master passion. It stamps itself on the whole soul, and obliterates all the finer traces in which humanity had written a witness of gentler qualities. Macbeth is a moral picture of terrific sublimity, and an illustration of that *moral* justice, which we contend should never be wanting. The one, strong passion moulds the character, and blasts every tender sentiment. When once Othello is jealous, his judgment is gone; the selfishness of Richard leads to wanton cruelty. In one of Shakspeare's tragedies, not a crime, but a fault is the foundation of the moral interest. Here too he is consistent, and the irresolution of Hamlet leaves his mind without energy, and his contending passions without terror. We might explain our views by examples from the comedies of the great dramatist, but Macbeth and Richard furnish the clearest illustration of them. And it is in such exhibitions of the power of vice to degrade, that 'gorgeous tragedy' performs her severest office, lifting up the pall which hides the ghastliness of unprincipled depravity, and showing us, where vice gains control, the features, that before may have been resplendent with loveliness, marred and despoiled of all their sweet expression.

There can then be no more hideous fault in a literary work than profligacy. Levity is next in order. The disposition to trifle with topics of the highest moment, to apply the levelling principle to the emotions of the human mind, to hold up to ridicule the exalted thoughts and kindling aspirations of which human nature is capable, can at best charm those only, who have failed to enter the true avenues to happiness. Such works may be popular, because the character of the public mind may for a season be corrupt. A literature, consisting of such works, is the greatest evil, with which a nation can be cursed. National poverty is nothing in comparison, for poverty is remedied by prudent enterprise; but such works poison the life-blood of the people, the moral vigor, which alone can strive for liberty and honor. The apologists for this class of compositions, in which Voltaire and La Fontaine are the greatest masters, defend it on the ground, that it is well adapted to give pleasure to minds, which have been accustomed to it, and that foreigners need only a different moral education to be able to enjoy it. Now without wasting a word on the enormity of defending what

is intrinsically sensual, we reply merely on the score of effect. He who adapts his inventions to a particular state of society, can please no further; he depends on circumstances for his popularity; he does not appeal to man, but to accidental habits, a fleeting state of the public mind; he is the poet, not of nature, but of a transient fashion. The attraction which comes from the strangeness or novelty of the manner is of very little value. On the most brilliant night a meteor would be followed by all eyes for a while; and why? Because it is as evanescent as bright; we must gaze at once, or it will be too late. Yet the mind soon returns to the contemplation of the eternal stars which light up the heavens with enduring lustre. Any popularity, obtained by gratifying a perverse taste, is essentially transitory; while all that is benevolent and social, all that favors truth and goodness, is of universal and perpetual interest.

These are but plain inferences from facts in the history of literature. The plays of Dryden were written to please an audience of a vicious taste; they may have been received with boisterous applause, but nobody likes them now, though in their form not unsuited to the stage; and as for the grossest scenes, any merit in the invention is never spoken of, as compensating for their abominable coarseness. On the other hand, Milton's *Comus*, though in its form entirely antiquated, has the beautiful freshness of everlasting youth, delights the ardent admirer of good poetry, and is always showing new attractions to the careful critic. And where lies this immense difference in the lasting effect of these two writers? Dryden, it is true, fell far short of Milton in poetic genius; but the true cause lies in this; virtue, which is the soul of song, is wanting in the plays of Dryden, while the poetry of Milton bears the impress of his own magnanimity.

We are contending for no sickly morality; we would shut out the poet from the haunts of libertinism, not from the haunts of men; we would have him associate with his fellows, hold intercourse with the great minds that light up the gloom of ages, and share in the best impulses of human nature; and not under the influence of a too delicate sensibility treat only of the harmless flowers, and the innocent birds, and the exhilarating charm of agreeable scenery; and still less in the spirit of a sullen misanthropy delight in obscure abstractions, find comfort only in solitude, and rejoice or pretend to rejoice chiefly in the mountains, and the ocean, and the low places of the earth. Their pur-

suit of moral beauty does not lead to an affected admiration, or an improper idolatry of the visible creation. The genius of the poet can impart a portion of its eloquence to the external world, and elevate creation by connecting it with moral associations. But descriptions, except of scenes where moral beings are to move, possess little interest. If landscape painting is an inferior branch of that art, though the splendid works of Claude demand praise without measure, landscape poetry is a kind of affectation, an unnatural result of excessive refinement. Description is important, but subordinate. The external world with all its gorgeousness and varied forms of beauty; the cataract 'with its glory of reflected light;' the forests as they wave in the brilliancy of early summer; the flowers that are crowded in gardens, or waste their sweetness on the desert air; 'the noise of the hidden brook that all night long in the leafy months sings its quiet tune to the sleeping woods;' the ocean, whether reposing in tranquil majesty or tossed by the tempest; night, when the heavens are glittering with the splendor of the constellations; morning, when one perfect splendor beams in the sky, and is reflected in a thousand colors from the glittering earth, these are not the sublimest themes, that awaken the energies of the muse. It is mind, and mind only, which can exhibit the highest beauty. The hymn of martyrdom, the strength by which the patriot girds himself to die, 'God's breath in the soul of man,' the unconquerable power of generous passion, the hopes and sorrows of humanity, love, devotion, and all the deep and bright springs of affection, these are higher themes, of permanent interest and exalted character.

Here too we find an analogy between poetic and religious feeling. The image of God is to be sought for, not so much in the outward world, as in the mind. No combination of inanimate matter can equal the sublimity and wonderful power of life. To impart organic life with the power of reproduction is a brighter display of Omnipotence than any arrangement of the inanimate, material world. A swarm of flies, as through their short existence they buzz and wheel in the summer's sun, offer as clear and to some minds a clearer demonstration of Omnipotence, than the everlasting, but silent courses of the planets. But moral life is the highest creation of divine power. We at least know and can conceive of none higher. We are, therefore, not to look for God among the rivers and the forests, nor yet among the planets and the stars, but in the hearts of men; he is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

Those who accord with the general views, which we have here maintained, will be prepared to express unqualified approbation of the literary career of Mrs Hemans. Had her writings been merely harmless, we should not have entered into an analysis of them; but the moral charm, which is spread over them, is so peculiar, so full of nature and truth and deep feeling, that her productions claim at once the praise of exquisite purity and poetic excellence. She adds the dignity of her sex to a high sense of the duties of a poet; she writes with buoyancy, yet with earnestness; her poems bear the impress of a character worthy of admiration. In the pursuit of literary renown she never forgets what is due to feminine reserve. We perceive a mind, endowed with powers to aspire; and are still further pleased to find no unsatisfied cravings, no passionate pursuit of remote objects, but high endowments, graced by contentment. There is plainly the consciousness of the various sorrow to which life is exposed, and with it the spirit of resignation. She sets before herself a clear and exalted idea of what a female writer should be, and is on the way to realize her own idea of excellence. Living in domestic retirement in a beautiful part of Wales, it is her own feelings and her own experience, which she communicates to us. We cannot illustrate our meaning better than by introducing our readers at once to Mrs Hemans herself, as she describes to us the occupations of a day.

AN HOUR OF ROMANCE.

'There were thick leaves above me and around,
And low sweet sighs, like those of childhood's sleep,
Amidst their dimness, and a fitful sound
As of soft showers on water—dark and deep
Lay the oak shadows o'er the turf, so still,
They seem'd but pictur'd glooms—a hidden rill
Made music, such as haunts us in a dream,
Under the fern tufts; and a tender gleam
Of soft green light, as by the glowworm shed,
Came pouring through the woven beech boughs down,
And steep'd the magic page wherein I read
Of royal chivalry and old renown,
A tale of Palestine.*—Meanwhile the bee
Swept past me with a tone of summer hours,
A drowsy bugle, wafting thoughts of flowers,
Blue skies, and amber sunshine—brightly free,

* 'The Talisman—Tales of the Crusaders.'

On filmy wings the purple dragonfly
 Shot glancing like a fairy javelin by ;
 And a sweet voice of sorrow told the dell
 Where sat the lone wood-pigeon.

But ere long,
 All sense of these things faded, as the spell,
 Breathing from that high gorgeous tale, grew strong
 On my chain'd soul—'twas not the leaves I heard ;
 —A Syrian wind the lion-banner stirr'd,
 Through its proud floating folds—'twas not the brook,
 Singing in secret through its grassy glen—
 A wild shrill trumpet of the Saracen
 Peal'd from the desert's lonely heart, and shook
 The burning air.—Like clouds when winds are high,
 O'er glittering sands flew steeds of Araby,
 And tents rose up, and sudden lance and spear
 Flash'd where a fountain's diamond wave lay clear,
 Shadow'd by graceful palm-trees.—Then the shout
 Of merry England's joy swell'd freely out,
 Sent through an Eastern heaven, whose glorious hue
 Made shields dark mirrors to its depths of blue ;
 And harps were there—I heard their sounding strings,
 As the waste echoed to the mirth of kings.

The bright masque faded—unto life's worn track
 What call'd me, from its flood of glory, back ?
 —A voice of happy childhood !—and they pass'd,
 Banner, and harp, and Paynim trumpet's blast—
 Yet might I scarce bewail the vision gone,
 My heart so leapt to that sweet laughter's tone.'

pp. 143—145.

The poetry is here as beautiful as the scene described is quiet and pleasing. It forms an amiable picture of the occupations of a contemplative mind. The language, versification, and imagery are of great merit, the beauties of nature described by a careful observer ; the English scene is placed in happy contrast with the Eastern, and the dream of romance pleasantly disturbed by the cheerfulness of life. But we make but sorry work at commenting on what the reader must feel.

If we would form a right estimate of the literary career of Mrs Hemans, it is but justice to her to remark, that it has been begun and continued under many disadvantages. A woman has always much to struggle with, on entering the lists of authorship, and she was more peculiarly left to her own resources and her own efforts, passing her life in the bosom of domestic retire-

ment, remote from all the advantages of literary intercourse. To her own mind and her native endowments is she solely indebted for the name she has now acquired. The first productions, by which she became known, were 'The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy,' and 'Modern Greece,' both written at an early age, and first published in 1816 and 1817. These were followed by 'Translations from Camoens and other Poets, with Original Poetry.' These translations are many of them very beautiful; but her own short poems, more recently written, have far surpassed them. In 1819 were published 'Tales and Historic Scenes in Verse.' They are, as it were, the *studies* of an artist, whose powers are rapidly maturing. One of them in particular we must notice, 'Alaric in Italy,' for its similarity in subject to 'The Dirge of Alaric,' a noble effusion, that has justly obtained extensive admiration. In 1820 Mrs Hemans published 'The Skeptic,' a poem of great merit for its style and its sentiments, of which we shall give a rapid sketch. She considers the influence of unbelief on the affections and gentler part of our nature, and, after pursuing the picture of the misery consequent on doubt, shows the relief that may be found in the thoughts that have their source in immortality. Glancing at pleasure as the only resort of the skeptic, she turns to the sterner tasks of life.

'E'en youth's brief hours,
Survive the beauty of their loveliest flowers. * * *
The soul's pure flame the breath of storms must fan,
And pain and sorrow claim their nursling—Man.'

But then the skeptic has no relief in memory, for memory recalls no joys, but such as were transitory, and known to be such; and as for Hope,

'She, who like Heaven's own sunbeam smiles for all,
Will *she* speak comfort? Thou hast shorn her plume,
That might have raised thee far above the tomb,
And hush'd the only voice whose angel tone
Sooths, when all melodies of joy are flown.'

The poet then asks, if an infidel dare love; and, having no home for his thoughts in a better world, nurse such feelings as delight to enshrine themselves in the breast of a parent. She addresses him on the insecurity of an attachment to a vain idol, from which death may at any time divide him '*forever*.'

'If there be sorrow in a parting tear,
Still let "*forever*" vibrate on thine ear.'

* * * * *

‘It is not thine to raise
 To yon pure heaven, thy calm confiding gaze,
 No gleam reflected from that realm of rest,
 Steals on the darkness of thy troubled breast ;
 Not for thine eye shall Faith divinely shed
 Her glory round the image of the dead ;
 And if, when slumber’s lonely couch is prest,
 The form departed be thy spirit’s guest,
 It bears no light from purer worlds to this ;
 Thy future lends not e’en a dream of bliss.’

For relief the infidel is referred to the Christian religion, in a strain, which unites the fervor of devotion with poetic sensibility.

But perhaps the skeptic scorns the advice, and like the heathen who was chained to a rock to be the constant prey of the vulture, for whom he himself produced sustenance, the pride of reason may support the infidel principles which gnaw at his heart. To him the mirth of frenzy, the laughter of delirious despair must read a lesson.

‘They tell thee, reason, wandering from the ray
 Of Faith, the blazing pillar of her way,
 In the mid darkness of the stormy wave,
 Forsook the struggling soul she could not save.
 Weep not, sad moralist ! o’er desert plains,
 Strew’d with the wrecks of grandeur—mouldering fanes,
 Arches of triumph, long with weeds o’ergrown,
 And regal cities, now the serpent’s own ;
 Earth has more awful ruins—one lost mind,
 Whose star is quench’d, hath lessons for mankind
 Of deeper import than each prostrate dome,
 Mingling its marble with the dust of Rome.’

The poem proceeds to depict in a forcible manner, the unfortunate state of a mind, which acquires every kind of knowledge but that which gives salvation, and, having gained possession of the secrets of all ages, and communed with the majestic minds that shine along the pathway of time, neglects nothing but eternity. Such an one, in the season of suffering, finds relief in suicide, and escapes to death as to an eternal rest. The thought of death recurs to the mind of the poet, and calls forth a fervent prayer for the divine presence and support in the hour of dissolution ; for the hour, when the soul is brought to the mysterious verge of another life, is an ‘awful one.’

‘ In the pride
Of youth and health, by sufferings yet untried,
We talk of death, as something, which ’twere sweet
In Glory’s arms exultingly to meet,
A closing triumph, a majestic scene,
Where gazing nations watch the hero’s mien,
As undismay’d amidst the tears of all,
He folds his mantle regally to fall !

Hush, fond enthusiast ! still obscure and lone,
Yet not less terrible because unknown,
Is the last hour of thousands ;—they retire
From life’s throng’d path, unnoticed to expire,
As the light leaf, whose fall to ruin bears
Some trembling insect’s little world of cares,
Descends in silence—while around waves on
The mighty forest, reckless what is gone !
Such is man’s doom—and, ere an hour be flown,
—Start not, thou trifler !—such may be thine own.’

This is followed by an allusion to the strong love of life which belongs to human nature, and the instinctive apprehension with which the parting mind, musing on its future condition, asks of itself mystic questions, that it cannot solve. But through the influence of religion,

‘ He, whom the busy world shall miss no more
Than morn one dewdrop from her countless store,
Earth’s most neglected child, with trusting heart,
Call’d to the hope of glory, shall depart.’

After some lines expressing the spirit of English patriotism, in a manner, with which foreigners can only be pleased, the poem closes with the picture of a mother, teaching her child the first lessons of religion by holding up the divine example of the Savior.

We have been led into a longer notice of this poem, for it illustrates the character of Mrs Hemans’s manner. We perceive in it a loftiness of purpose, an earnestness of thought, sometimes made more interesting by a tinge of melancholy, a depth of religious feeling, a mind alive to all the interests, gratifications, and sorrows of social life.

In enumerating the earlier productions of Mrs Hemans, we have omitted to mention two prize poems, one entitled ‘ Wallace,’ and the other on a less promising subject. They have never been republished, and are, therefore, not very generally known. The latter we have never seen.

The 'Vespers of Palermo' was the earliest of the dramatic productions of our author. The period in which the scene is laid, is sufficiently known from the title of the play. The whole is full of life and action. The same high strain of moral propriety marks this piece, as all others of her writings. The hero is an enthusiast for glory, for liberty, and for virtue ; and on his courage, his forbearance, the integrity of his love, making the firmness of his patriotism appear doubtful, rests the interest of the plot. It is worthy of remark, that some of its best parts have already found their way into an excellent selection of pieces for schools, and thus contribute to give lessons of morality to those who are most susceptible of the interest of tragedy.

It may not be so generally remembered, that the same historical event was made the subject of a French tragedy, about the same time that the English one was written, and by a poet now of very great popularity in France. We hesitate not to give the preference to Mrs Hemans, for invention and interest, accurate delineation of character and adherence to probability. Both the tragedies are written in a style of finished elegance.

The 'Siege of Valencia' is a dramatic poem, but not intended for representation. The story is extremely simple. The Moors, who besiege Valencia, take the two sons of the governor, Gonzalez, captive, as they came to visit their father ; and now the ransom demanded for them is the surrender of the city ; they are to die, if the place is not yielded up. Elmina, the mother of the boys, and Ximena, their sister, are the remaining members of a family, to which so dreadful an option is submitted. The poem is one of the highest merit. The subject is of great dignity, being connected with the defence of Spain against the Moors, and at the same time it is of the greatest tenderness, offering a succession of the most moving scenes that can be imagined to occur in the bosom of a family. The father is firm ; the daughter is heroic ; the mother falters. She finds her way to the Moorish camp, sees her children, forms a plan for betraying the town, and then is not able to conceal her grief and her design from her husband. He immediately sends a defiance to the Moors ; his children are brought out and beheaded ; a *sortie* is made from the besieged city ; finally the king of Spain arrives to the rescue, the wrongs of Gonzalez are avenged ; he himself dies in victory, and the

poem closes with a picture of his wife, moved by the strongest grief, of which she is yet able to restrain the expression. The great excellence of the poem lies in the delineation of the struggle between the consciousness of duty and maternal fondness. We believe none but a mother could have written it. We will quote a few passages, and leave it to our readers to commend.

Elmina learns of her husband the terrible choice submitted to them. The mother entreats ;

‘ I must be heard !

Give me my sons !

Gonzalez. That they may live to hide
With covering hands th’ indignant flush of shame
On their young brows, when men shall speak of him
They call’d their father ?—Was the oath, whereby,
On th’ altar of my faith, I bound myself,
With an unswerving spirit to maintain
This free and christian city for my God,
And for my king, a writing traced on sand ?
That passionate tears should wash it from the earth,
Or e’en the life-drops of a bleeding heart
Efface it, as a billow sweeps away
The last light vessel’s wake ?—Then never more
Let man’s deep vows be trusted !—though enforced
By all th’ appeals of high remembrances,
And silent claims o’ th’ sepulchres, wherein
His fathers with their stainless glory sleep,
On their good swords ! Think’st thou *I* feel no pangs ?
He that hath given me sons, doth know the heart
Whose treasures he recalls.—Of this no more.
’Tis vain. I tell thee that the inviolate cross
Still, from our ancient temples, must look up
Through the blue heavens of Spain, though at its foot
I perish, with my race.’

* * * * *

‘ *Elmina.* What ! must we burst all ties
Wherewith the thrilling cords of life are twined ;
And for this task’s fulfilment, can it be
That man, in his cold heartlessness, hath dared
To number and to mete us forth the sands
Of hours, nay, moments ?—Why, the sentenced wretch,
He on whose soul there rests a brother’s blood
Pour’d forth in slumber, is allow’d more time
To wean his turbulent passions from the world

His presence doth pollute !—It is not thus !

We must have Time to school us.

Gonzalez.

We have but

To bow the head in silence, when Heaven's voice
Calls back the things we love.

Elmina. Love ! love !—there are soft smiles and gentle
words,

And there are faces skilful to put on
The look we trust in—and 'tis mockery all !
—A faithless mist, a desert-vapor, wearing
The brightness of clear waters, thus to cheat
The thirst that semblance kindled !—There is none,
In all this cold and hollow world, no fount
Of deep, strong, deathless love, save that within
A mother's heart.—It is but pride, wherewith
To his fair son the father's eye doth turn,
Watching his growth. Aye, on the boy he looks,
The bright glad creature springing in his path,
But as the heir of his great name, the young
And stately tree, whose rising strength ere long
Shall bear his trophies well.—And this is love !
This is *man's* love !—What marvel ?—*you* ne'er made
Your breast the pillow of his infancy,
While to the fulness of your heart's glad heavings
His fair cheek rose and fell ; and his bright hair
Waved softly to your breath !—*You* ne'er kept watch
Beside him, till the last pale star had set,
And morn, all dazzling, as in triumph broke
On your dim weary eye ; not *yours* the face
Which, early faded through fond care for him,
Hung o'er his sleep, and, duly as heaven's light,
Was there to greet his wakening ! *You* ne'er smooth'd
His couch, ne'er sung him to his rosy rest,
Caught his least whisper, when his voice from yours
Had learn'd soft utterance ; press'd your lip to his,
When fever parch'd it ; hush'd his wayward cries,
With patient, vigilant, never-weari'd love !
No ! these are *woman's* tasks !—In these her youth,
And bloom of cheek, and buoyancy of heart,
Steal from her all unmark'd !—My boys ! my boys !
Hath vain affection borne with all for this ?
—Why were ye given me ?' pp. 173—181.

Elmina meets with a priest, and holds a long discourse with
him. She obtains of him no relief for her mind. 'Let them
die,' he answers to her questions.

' Let them die *now*, thy children ! so thy heart
 Shall wear their beautiful image all undimm'd,
 Within it, to the last ! Nor shalt thou learn
 The bitter lesson, of what worthless dust
 Are framed the idols, whose false glory binds
 Earth's fetter on our souls !—Thou think'st it much
 To mourn the early dead ; but there are tears
 Heavy with deeper anguish ! We endow
 Those whom we love, in our fond passionate blindness,
 With power upon our souls, too absolute
 To be a mortal's trust ! Within their hands
 We lay the flaming sword, whose stroke alone
 Can reach our hearts, and *they* are merciful,
 As they are strong, that wield it not to pierce us !
 Aye, fear them, fear the loved !'

p. 199.

We have no room for further quotations ; or the scene in which Elmina, after her visit to the Moorish camp, meets her daughter and her husband, the scene in which her daughter expires, and that in which the battle of the king of Spain with the Moors is described, would furnish us with abundant matter.

We will now say a few words of 'The Forest Sanctuary.' But it so abounds with beauty, is so highly finished, and animated by so generous a spirit of moral heroism, that we can do no justice to our views of it in the narrow space, which our limits allow us. A Spanish Protestant flies from persecution at home to religious liberty in America. He has imbibed the spirit of our own fathers, and his mental struggles are described in verses, with which the descendants of the pilgrims must know how to sympathize. We dare not enter on an analysis. From one scene at sea in the second part we will make a few extracts. The exile is attended by his wife and child ; but his wife remains true to the faith of her fathers.

"*Ora pro nobis, mater !*"—What a spell

Was in those notes, with day's last glory dying
 On the flush'd waters !—seem'd they not to swell
 From the far dust, wherein my sires were lying
 With crucifix and sword ?—Oh ! yet how clear
 Comes their reproachful sweetness to mine ear !

"*Ora !*"—with all the purple waves replying,

All my youth's visions rising in the strain—

—And I had thought it much to bear the rack and chain !

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Torture !—the sorrow of affection's eye,
 Fixing its meekness on the spirit's core,
 Deeper, and teaching more of agony,
 May pierce than many swords !—and this I bore
 With a mute pang. Since I had vainly striven
 From its free springs to pour the truth of heaven
 Into thy trembling soul, my Leonor !
 Silence rose up where hearts no hope could share :
 —Alas ! for those that love, and may not blend in prayer !

We could not pray together 'midst the deep,
 Which, like a flood of sapphire, round us lay,
 Through days of splendor, nights too bright for sleep,
 Soft, solemn, holy ! We were on our way
 Unto the mighty Cordillera land,
 With men whom tales of that world's golden strand
 Had lured to leave their vines.—Oh ! who shall say
 What thoughts rose in us, when the tropic sky
 Touch'd all its molten seas with sunset's alchemy ?'

pp. 74, 75.

The strength of Leonor sinks under her sufferings, and
 meantime the ship is becalmed.

'I knew not all—yet something of unrest
 Sat on my heart. Wake, ocean-wind ! I said ;
 Waft us to land, in leafy freshness drest,
 Where through rich clouds of foliage o'er her head,
 Sweet day may steal, and rills unseen go by,
 Like singing voices, and the green earth lie
 Starry with flowers, beneath her graceful tread !
 —But the calm bound us 'midst the glassy main ;
 Ne'er was her step to bend earth's living flowers again.

* * * *

A fearful thing that love and death may dwell
 In the same world !—She faded on—and I—
 Blind to the last, there needed death to tell
 My trusting soul that she *could* fade to die !
 Yet, ere she parted, I had mark'd a change,
 —But it breathed hope—'twas beautiful, though strange :
 Something of gladness in the melody
 Of her low voice, and in her words a flight
 Of airy thought—alas ! too perilously bright !

* * * *

On the mid seas a knell !—for man was there,
 Anguish and love—the mourner with his dead !
 A long low rolling knell—a voice of prayer—

Dark glassy waters, like a desert spread—
 And the pale shining Southern Cross on high,
 Its faint stars fading from a solemn sky,
 Where mighty clouds before the dawn grew red ;—
 Were these things round me ?—Such o'er memory sweep
 Wildly when aught brings back that burial of the deep.

* * * *

The wind rose free and singing :—when for ever,
 O'er that sole spot of all the watery plain,
 I could have bent my sight with fond endeavor
 Down, where its treasure was, its glance to strain ;
 Then rose the reckless wind !—Before our prow
 The white foam flash'd—ay, joyously—and thou
 Wert left with all the solitary main
 Around thee—and thy beauty in my heart,
 And thy meek sorrowing love,—oh ! where could *that* depart ?

I will not speak of woe ; I may not tell—
 Friend tells not such to friend—the thoughts which rent
 My fainting spirit, when its wild farewell
 Across the billows to thy grave was sent,
 Thou there most lonely !—He that sits above,
 In his calm glory, will forgive the love
 His creatures bear each other, ev'n if blent
 With a vain worship ; for its close is dim
 Ever with grief, which leads the wrung soul back to Him !

And with a milder pang if now I bear
 To think of thee in thy forsaken rest,
 If from my heart be lifted the despair,
 The sharp remorse with healing influence press'd,
 If the soft eyes that visit me in sleep
 Look not reproach, though still they seem to weep ;
 It is that He my sacrifice hath bless'd,
 And fill'd my bosom, through its inmost cell,
 With a deep chastening sense that all at last is well.
 pp. 76—84.

But we must cease making extracts, for we could not transfer all that is beautiful in the poem, without transferring the whole.

It has been said, that religion can never be made a subject of interest in poetry. The position is a false one, refuted by the close alliance between poetic inspiration and sacred enthusiasm. Irreligion has certainly no place in poetry. There may have been atheist philosophers ; an atheist poet is an,

impossibility. The poet may doubt and reason like Hamlet, but the moment he acquiesces in unbelief, there is an end to the magic of poetry. Imagination can no longer throw lively hues over the creation; the forests cease to be haunted; the sea, and the air, and the heavens to teem with life. The highest interest, we think, attaches to Mrs Hemans's writings, from the spirit of Christianity which pervades them.

The poetry of our author is tranquillizing in its character, calm and serene. We beg pardon of the lovers of excitement, but we are seriously led to take notice of this quality as of a high merit. A great deal has been said of the sublimity of directing the passions; we hold it a much more difficult, and a much more elevated task, to restrain them; it may be sublime to ride on the whirlwind, and direct the storm; but it seems to us still more sublime to appease the storm, and still the whirlwind. Virgil, no mean authority, was of this opinion. The French are reported to be particularly fond of effect and display; but we remember to have read, that even in the splendid days of Napoleon, the simplicity of vocal music surpassed in effect the magnificence of a numerous band. It was when Napoleon was crowned emperor in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The Parisians, wishing to distinguish the occasion by some novel exhibition, and to produce a great effect, filled the orchestra with eighty harps, which were all struck together with unequalled skill. The fashionable world was in raptures. Presently the pope entered, and some thirty of his singers, who came with him from Rome, received him with the powerful *Tu es Petrus* of the old fashioned Scarlatti, and the simple majesty of the air, assisted by no instruments, annihilated in a moment the whole effect of the preceding fanfaronade. And in literature the public taste seems to us already weary of those productions which aim at astonishing and producing a great effect, and there is now an opportunity of pleasing by the serenity of contemplative excellence.

It is the high praise of Mrs Hemans's poetry, that it is feminine. The sex may well be pleased with her productions, for they could hardly have a better representative in the career of letters. All her works seem to come from the heart, to be natural and true. The poet can give us nothing but the form under which the objects he describes present themselves to his own mind. That form must be noble, or it is not worthy of our consideration; it must be consistent, or it will fail to be

true. Now in the writings of Mrs Hemans we are shown, how life and its concerns appear to woman ; and hear a mother entrusting to verse her experience and observation. So in 'The Hebrew Mother,' 'the spring tide of nature' swells high as she parts from her son, on devoting him to the service of the temple.

'Alas! my boy, thy gentle grasp is on me,
The bright tears quiver in thy pleading eyes,
And now fond thoughts arise,
And silver cords again to earth have won me;
And like a vine thou claspest my full heart—
How shall I hence depart ?'

'And oh! the home whence thy bright smile hath parted,
Will it not seem as if the sunny day
Turn'd from its door away ?
While through its chambers wandering, wearyhearted,
I languish for thy voice, which past me still
Went like a singing rill ?'

'I give thee to thy God—the God that gave thee,
A wellspring of deep gladness to my heart!
And precious as thou art,
And pure as dew of Hermon, He shall have thee,
My own, my beautiful, my undefil'd!
And thou shalt be His child.

Therefore, farewell!—I go, my soul may fail me,
As the hart panteth for the water brooks,
Yearning for thy sweet looks—
But thou, my firstborn, droop not, nor bewail me;
Thou in the Shadow of the Rock shalt dwell,
The Rock of Strength.—Farewell !'

pp. 29—31.

The same high feeling of maternal duty and love inspires the little poem, 'The Wreck,' which everyone has read. 'The Lady of the Castle,' 'The Grave of Körner,' 'The Graves of a Household,' are all on domestic subjects. But why do we allude to poems, which are in everyone's hands? The mother's voice breaks out again in the piece entitled 'Elysium.' Children, according to the heathen mythology, were banished to the infernal regions, and religious faith had no consolation for a mourning parent.

'Calm on its leaf-strewn bier,
Unlike a gift of nature to decay,
Too roselike still, too beautiful, too dear,

The child at rest before its mother lay;
 E'en so to pass away,
 With its bright smile!—Elysium! what wert *thou*,
 To her who wept o'er that young slumberer's brow?
 Thou hadst no home, green land!
 For the fair creature from her bosom gone,
 With life's first flowers just opening in her hand,
 And all the lovely thoughts and dreams unknown,
 Which in its clear eye shone
 Like the spring's awakening! But that light was past—
 —Where went the dew drop, swept before the blast?
 Not where thy soft winds play'd,
 Not where thy waters lay in glassy sleep!—
 Fade, with thy bowers, thou land of visions, fade!
 From thee no voice came o'er the gloomy deep,
 And bade man cease to weep!
 Fade, with the amaranth plain, the myrtle grove,
 Which could not yield one hope to sorrowing love!
 For the most lov'd are they,
 Of whom Fame speaks not with her clarion voice
 In regal halls—the shades o'erhang their way,
 The vale, with its deep fountains, is their choice,
 And gentle hearts rejoice
 Around their steps! till silently they die,
 As a stream shrinks from summer's burning eye.
 And the world knows not then,
 Not then, nor ever, what pure thoughts are fled!
 Yet these are they, that on the souls of men
 Come back when night, her folding veil hath spread,
 The long remember'd dead!
 But not with *thee* might aught save Glory dwell—
 Fade, fade away, thou shore of Asphodel!

pp. 211—213.

And the same feelings of a woman and mother dictated 'The Evening Prayer at a Girls' School,' a poem, which merits to be considered in connexion with Gray's 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College.'

'Oh! joyous creatures, that will sink to rest,
 Lightly, when those pure orisons are done,
 As birds with slumber's honey-dew oppress'd,
 'Midst the dim folded leaves, at set of sun—
 Lift up your hearts!—though yet no sorrow lies
 Dark in the summer heaven of those clear eyes.'

p. 147.

Of other spirited, and lively, and pathetic short poems of Mrs Hemans, which form some of the brightest ornaments of the lyric poetry of the language, we take no particular notice, for in what part of the United States are they not known? So general has been the attention to those of her pieces adapted to the purposes of a newspaper, we hardly fear to assert, that throughout a great part of this country there is not a family of the middling class, in which some of them have not been read. The praise which was not sparingly bestowed upon her, when her shorter productions first became generally known among us, has been often repeated on a careful examination of her works; and could we hope that our remarks might one day fall under her eye, we should hope she would not be indifferent to the good wishes which are offered her from America, but feel herself cheered and encouraged in her efforts by the prospect of an enlarged and almost unlimited field of useful influence, opened to her among the descendants of her country in an independent land. The ocean divides us from the fashions as well as the commotions of Europe. The voice of America, deciding on the literature of England, resembles the voice of posterity more nearly than anything else, that is contemporaneous, can do. We believe that the general attention which has been given to Mrs Hemans's works among us, may be regarded as a pledge that they will not be received with indifference by posterity.

ART. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*A Letter to an English Gentleman on the Labels and Calumnies on America by British Writers and Reviewers.* 8vo. pp. 43. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

THE author treats this matter too gravely. He has chosen a subject, indeed, fertile of 'high words, jealousies, and fears,' as are all 'civil dudgeons;' for such we may call this strife of words between two nations, alike in language, religion, and laws. We say alike, for though the English tongue suffers manifold corruptions in the dialects of England, yet English is nevertheless the prevailing language there. Her religion too, though grievously encumbered by an established church, is almost as good protestantism as ours; and her laws, when they come to be pruned of certain deformities, which 'Custom, grown blind with age,' insists on retaining, will resemble our own, more happily, at least, than those of any other people. Our author in remembrance of this, should therefore have been less earnest, perhaps, in the tone of his rebuke to his English correspondent; as it is very probable that the worthy gentleman, like the rest of his countrymen, has sinned as much in ignorance as spleen. Our own vexation at the faultfinding spirit of these splenetic islanders, is, we own, often moderated by the reflection, that it is as indigenous among them as their hips and haws. It is a perfect idiosyncrasy, which, like the old man of the sea, on the back of the luckless Sinbad, mercilessly pursues them everywhere, as much, it is evident, to their own discomfort, as to the astonishment of their neighbors.

It is indeed, quite melancholy to think that worthy people like the English, when the fogs, the blue devils, and the taxes have driven them from home to take refuge among strangers, should be wholly prevented by this one weakness of temper, from either pleasing their hosts, or even pleasing themselves. Travelling is emphatically to them, what Madame de Staël calls it, 'un triste plaisir.' While a Frenchman in England reconciles himself to everything, except perhaps an English Sunday, the Englishman neither reconciles anybody nor is reconciled to anything. Yet this fault of his is so well understood, and is so much a matter of course, that his repinings carry their remedy along with them. In this country everybody, from long experience, knows what he is to expect from an English tourist; and the people on the continent of Europe think they explain everything by shrugging their shoulders and saying, 'He is an Englishman.'

The English themselves, in moments of compunction, sometimes excuse their slanders of America, by alleging that their bet-

ter sort of travellers seldom get among us. Our author seems inclined to give into this explanation ; but our charity, in this instance, does not run so far. This failing of theirs is more general among them than they like to own, and by the accounts of their own writers, has long beset them. Lord Chesterfield more than once, for this same reason, admonishes his son against associating with his countrymen abroad ; and Doctor Moore, (a Scotchman, by the way,) ridicules it in his own peculiar manner. Townsend, a very judicious observer, tells us that the English who visited Spain in his days picqued themselves on living there as they did in their own cool climate, till an ague, or bilious fever came to reinforce the suggestions of common sense. A later traveller in that country, (the author of the 'Recollections of the Peninsula,') who had a turn of civility about him, exclaims, with a kind of despair, that his countrymen seemed to find a pleasure in setting every body against them, and that they seldom failed of success, even where they were at first received with open arms. So far are *i signori Inglesi* from 'doing at Rome as Romans do,' that all the money their idlers lavish there, scarcely serves to keep the astonished Romans in good humor. St Peter's they have converted into a fashionable promenade, and, some years ago, their behavior was such, during the performance of the usual anthem in the church, in laughing and talking aloud, in otherwise interrupting the service, and crowding out the natives from their places, that the good Pope found it necessary to interfere. In England a police officer would have brought things to order very shortly and roughly ; but the Pontiff actually ordered the anthem to be discontinued for the future, and begged the interposition of the Dutchess of Devonshire with her countrymen ! On this occasion the English clergyman deemed it necessary to give his polite audience a lecture on good manners.

What can our author think to do by his serious reasoning with a people, who thus beard the Pope himself ; who, when driven from their climate, by aches and the vapors, insist nevertheless that it is the most *comfortable* in the world, and complain of the everlasting sunshine of Italy and America ; who conscientiously believe that grapes and pine apples are better flavored in England than on their native soil ; retain their stiff garments in the hottest climes, in despite of comfort, and, as it were, in the very face of the sun ; and fondly talk of the roast beef of England, while the rioters of Birmingham are asking rather angrily for bread ? By what sort of argument does he hope to approach those, who think the national debt a national blessing ; the right of primogeniture wise and just ; imperfect representation a safeguard of their liberties ; a Constitution grown up by accident, more perfect than any devised scheme possibly can be ; who modestly

rail against negro slavery, while Ireland lies under their very eyes; who believe the state machine, called the established church, a bulwark of religion; and whose people think they sufficiently revile a man by calling him a Frenchman or a foreigner? To set about refuting, with much seriousness, people who are honestly persuaded of all this, seems so much good argument thrown away; and to predict that misfortune may hereafter bring them to a more reasonable way of thinking, is really a very small consolation to us, who have so many reasons for wishing them well.

2.—*Report of the Board of Public Works of the State of Georgia, to the General Assembly. Milledgeville, 1826.*

WE have heretofore spoken of the recent legislative proceedings of Georgia, in regard to the internal improvements of that state. We have now before us the first Report of the Board of Public Works to the Legislature, from which it appears, that several surveys have been executed during the last year, with a view to ascertain the routes of rail roads and canals in different parts of the state. Two great objects were had in mind; first, the practicability and expediency of connecting the waters of Georgia with the Tennessee River, so as to bring the produce of the West to the Atlantic through that state; secondly, the internal navigation of the state itself.

On the first point, the Board make a decidedly unfavorable report, and their reasoning is conclusive. Cotton can now be transported from Florence on the Tennessee river, to New Orleans, for 80 cents a bag. To convey the same by a canal to Milledgeville, a distance of 240 miles, would cost, at the lowest estimate, \$1,90; and thence to Darien on the seacoast \$1,50 more, making in the whole \$3,40. 'Adding to the expense of conveyance (80 cents) down the Mississippi \$1,50, the increased charge for insurance and freight from the port of New Orleans, the relative expense of the two channels of conveyance will be as \$3,40 to \$2,30; that is, it will cost \$1,10 more, to transport a bag of cotton from Tennessee to the Atlantic through the state of Georgia, than down the Mississippi.' It is very obvious, therefore, that a project of a canal through that state to connect the western waters with the Atlantic, is not one that deserves any further consideration.

The Board, however, speak in sanguine terms of the advantages to be derived from new paths of communication, either

by canals or rail roads, to connect different points in the state; and surveys have in part been made to ascertain some of the most important routes. Georgia is intersected by rivers well suited to boat navigation, but in the low country, these are much obstructed by sand bars, and trees lodged in their channels. It is deemed advisable to clear out these obstructions, and to deepen the channels in some places. To effect this object the Legislature has appropriated \$ 80,000 to be expended in improving the navigation of the rivers Oconee, Alatomaha, Chattahoochie, Oakmulgee, and Ogeechee; and also \$ 40,000 more to be expended in conjunction with South Carolina in clearing the Savanna river. These are liberal appropriations, and show a generous and enterprising spirit in the legislature. It is a mistake, however, to expect much benefit from this mode of improving the navigation of rivers. An obstruction removed in a given place will frequently have no other effect than to draw the water off, and cause a new obstruction above. There is but one effectual mode of improving the boat navigation of rivers, and that is by dams quite across the stream, at such distances that the water will everywhere be raised above obstructions. Let a tow path be constructed on one bank of the stream, and it will then be converted into a canal with a lock at each dam. This method is carried into complete operation on the Schuylkill. We venture to predict, that after much labor and money have been expended in deepening the channels of the Georgia rivers, according to the plan proposed, they will in many places be found to be as shallow and unfit for navigation as before. A broad and deep river, like the Savanna, will undoubtedly be an exception. Small obstructions may there be removed to advantage, because the quantity removed will bear no proportion to the mass of water. Yet the same evil, to a certain degree, will exist in that river. Let the Board inquire what has been done at Wilmington, in North Carolina, in deepening the Cape Fear River, before they proceed far in any similar attempts.



3.—*American Natural History. Vol. I. Part I. Mastology.*
By JOHN D. GODMAN, M. D Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.
Svo. pp. 362.

THERE are few more attractive studies than natural history, and Buffon and Goldsmith, as well as some other writers, have shown that few subjects are susceptible of being treated in a more animated or eloquent manner. It is true, this remark will not apply to mere scientific arrangements, or rather systems of

names, by which different objects, whether animate or inanimate, are classified. This branch of the study can of course have charms only for the adepts in science; yet the more popular parts, such as the structure and uses of minerals, the varieties and virtues of plants, the habits and peculiarities of animals, present innumerable particulars, which afford instruction and amusement.

Our American works on natural history, except in the department of Ornithology, have hitherto been of the scientific, rather than the popular kind. Dr Godman has undertaken the important task of giving to the public a natural history of our country, adapted to the mass of readers, at the same time it adheres so closely to classical arrangement and definitions, as to retain in a sufficient degree a scientific dress. He has published the first volume of the first part, which contains descriptions of various animals, and which, as far as our knowledge and taste will enable us to judge, is a very successful beginning in the execution of his plan. His descriptions are in a language perfectly intelligible to every reader, and he has evidently examined all the best sources of information. His style is flowing and animated; it is not always pruned, and is rather indicative of haste, than of the *limæ labor* of composition; yet it is not ill suited to his subject, and he must be in no very good humor, who will be disposed to stop and carp at the style, when there is so much in the matter and general manner to instruct and please.

The drawings, with which the book abounds, are executed with great beauty and spirit; some of them would do no discredit to Bewick. The engravings are highly finished. The fame, which the Philadelphia artists have acquired in delineating and engraving specimens of natural history, is fully sustained in this work.

As the author advances in his undertaking, we hope to embrace some other opportunity to speak more at large of his labors. The project deserves the unqualified encouragement and patronage of the public.

4.—*Memorial to the General Assembly of North Carolina. Jan. 1, 1827.* By A. D. MURPHEY.

THE history of few of the states is so little known, as that of North Carolina. This has not been for any want of materials, or of important events to record. When all these shall be brought to light, it will be found that North Carolina, both in its early character, and in its progress, has maintained a place among the very first of the states. With some means of knowledge on the

subject, we give our entire assent to the following remarks of Judge Murphey. 'Our men of education,' says he, 'who read and study the history of other countries, are ignorant of the history of their native state, and all classes of our people will remain in such ignorance until their history shall be written. When this shall be done, it will be seen that we have just cause to be proud of our ancestors; that in no state was a more early or effectual opposition made to the encroachments of power; that in no one were the principles of civil liberty better understood, more ardently cherished, or more steadily defended; that no state exhibited a purer devotion, and no one, except Massachusetts, made more generous sacrifices in the cause of the revolution; and that our legislature, our jurisprudence, and our institutions have kept pace with the improvements of the age.' The first part of these remarks, will apply to more states than one. Of many, very many persons can it be said, that 'they read and study the history of other countries, and are ignorant of the history of their native state.' In nine tenths of the higher order of our schools, the pupils can tell you more of Greece and Rome, than of the state in which they were born, and can talk more intelligibly of the Achæan league, or the Amphictyonic council, than of the principles of our federal union, or the history of our national legislature.

This ignorance has doubtless resulted in some degree from the want of well written histories. So busy have we been in this country since the revolution, that the public mind has been wholly taken up with the deeds of the present. The living history of the times has crowded as many events both upon the actors and the witnesses, as they have had leisure to attend to. What with the agitations of party, our political changes and progress, and the growth of all our civil and social institutions, the whole community has had abundance to think about and talk about from day to day, and month to month, without resorting to the actions of our ancestors; and under such circumstances there has been very little encouragement for writing history. But times are changed, and most persons are now prepared to read the history of their country, if they can be furnished with it in an attractive and judicious form. It is a matter of public utility, and each state should afford ample facilities to a competent historian, who is willing to give his time and talents to the task. Judge Murphey's Memorial is in the nature of an application to the legislature of North Carolina to grant him aid in preparing a history of that state. The result we have not learnt, but from the liberal spirit manifested by the legislature on a former application, we cannot doubt his wishes will be met.

We confess that we were a little startled to hear Judge Murphey talk of extending his history '*to six or eight octavo volumes,*

exclusive of geology, mineralogy, botany, and meteorology.' Who will ever read such a history? Suppose the historians of all the states were to be as generous, what would be done with all the books? They might be piled up in libraries, but they never would be taken down. It is idle to write books, that never will be read. If the author will take our advice, he will confine himself strictly to the *history of North Carolina*, scrupulously keeping clear of all extraneous matters, and such as have only a remote bearing on his subject. Let him keep close to this purpose, and compress all his materials into two octavo volumes, in which every line shall contain a fact, and every sentence a point, and the whole be arranged with clearness, method, and in just proportions. Such a work will answer its important ends; it will be sought after and read.

5.—*An Address delivered in Burlington, upon the Inauguration of the Author to the Office of President of the University of Vermont; Nov. 28, 1826.* By JAMES MARSH. Burlington. E. & T. Mills. pp. 31.

WE are not among those who are tired of a subject, only because it has been often discussed. We therefore, for ourselves, needed no apology from President Marsh, for choosing *education* as the subject of his Address, especially as it was a topic so appropriate, we might even say necessary, to the occasion. The apology which he offers, is, however, so very sensible, and so convincingly put, as we think, to all those who are apt to become fatigued with a discussion by the time they have acquired from it two or three general and superficial notions, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of quoting it.

'This subject, however it may have been exhausted, as to its general and theoretical principles, by eminent writers of both ancient and modern times, and rendered trite in its details by the daily discussions of our own periodical press, has still, like that of religion, a hold upon our attention, that can be lost only when we are no longer capable of improvement. Like that, it mingles itself with the sweetest charities of domestic life, and is second in importance only to that in its relation to communities and nations. It comes home to the heart of every father and of every mother, as they contemplate the future character of a son or a daughter, and in the minds of the wise politician and philanthropist is associated with their dearest hopes and most labored efforts for the

improvement of society. It is practically connected with our daily and most interesting duties, and its principles can never be too well understood, or too faithfully applied by those, who wish well to the happiness of their country.' pp. 3, 4.

The truth is, that so long as education is a subject of intrinsic and inestimable importance, and when it will cease to be so we cannot imagine, so long ought it to be a frequent subject of discourse and reflection, and so long will it possess a strong hold on the minds, and a deep interest in the hearts of thinking men. It will indeed lose its novelty, when it is thoroughly understood in all its relations, and nothing remains to be discovered and developed in any of its departments. But that time has not yet come, and who can say when it will come ?

The view which Mr Marsh has taken of the subject, is one especially interesting at this time, and to this country. He considers, in his address, 'some of the peculiar advantages which we enjoy, *as a people*, for giving efficacy to the power and influence of education, and some of the higher results, in the general cultivation and wellbeing of society, which we may reasonably expect it to accomplish, or towards which at least our efforts in relation to it should be directed.' In pursuing this design, he exhibits in a few well drawn sketches, those circumstances in our situation which distinguish us from all other nations, which place education in a new field of experiment, and which promise great and hitherto unknown results from the trial. He could not, of course, omit to notice an institution so characteristic of at least one considerable section of our country, and bearing so closely and powerfully on the destinies of the whole, as that of our public schools. We are far from thinking that these schools have attained to anything like perfection ; but we are nevertheless convinced that the principle of their establishment is sound, and that their general operation and consequences have been incalculably great and beneficial. We therefore give our full approbation to the following eulogy upon them.

'In the minds of those, by whom our principles and our form of society were bequeathed to us, the maxim that all men are alike independent, and have the same right to act in the various relations of society, awakened of necessity the idea of so providing for the instruction of all, that they should be qualified to act well. Hence, at a very early period after the settlement of New England, free schools were established, and a system, unknown in every other country, which provides that the property of all shall be taxed for the education of all, under some varieties of form now everywhere prevails. The object or the effect of this is not indeed to give very eminent attainments to any, but to accomplish

what the spirit of benevolence is now aiming at in other countries, to implant the great principles of knowledge, of morality, and religion, and to elevate the condition and character of the great body of the people. It goes among us to establish and secure forever the principles of equality, from which it sprung ; to secure the lower from the insults of the higher, and the weak from the oppressions of the powerful. It prevents therefore all those evils, which in other countries have arisen from the opposing interests of different classes of the community, and obstructed the progress of general improvement. Instead of limiting our thoughts to a few only, it extends our hopes and our designs of improvement to all the members of the body politic, while it presents them to us in a condition best suited to receive the benefit of our labors. pp. 7, 8.

One more extract we will offer, because it expresses what we shall hold to be, till we are argued out of our belief, the true doctrine of the union between religion and government, church and state.

‘ As religious principles were the starting point, and the source of all those ideas, which we have realized in our institutions, so the influence of religion on the moral character and the intellectual habits and acquirements of the great mass of our population is still the foundation on which those institutions rest. Thus, while politicians in Europe consider it an essential part of civil government to support religion, we have reversed the order, and look to our religion, as the only effectual support of our government ; not indeed as a part of the political system, associated and become one with it, as seems to have been the original design, but the basis on which it rests in the hearts of the people. For it is not only withdrawn more, than in any other country from all secular interferences, but abstains from directly interfering with all secular interests. It sustains itself in and by its own spiritual life and energy, and while it is independent of all aid from human institutions, and claims connexion only with heaven and the hearts of men, as its appropriate home and abiding place, it still sends forth its energizing and quickening spirit through all the complicated forms of society, building up the ruins that are fallen down, uniting and organizing anew the elements of good, which the warring passions and interests of men had torn asunder, and scattered abroad, and budding and blossoming forth with rich luxuriance in the refined and pure affections of social life, and in the nobler enterprises of benevolence.’ pp. 15, 16.

We could not but regret the appearance in this excellent discourse, of several instances of false taste, both in composition and language. In the latter, especially, there are specimens of un-

warrantable license. The author speaks of men 'of large round-about sense, and cultivated reason.' What, in the name of common sense, is round-about sense? In the very next page, we are barked at by a tripleheaded monster, hight 'sound-book-learnedness.' 'The ventriloquists of human reason,' is a phrase which we might admire more, if we understood it better. 'The thralldom of the *sensuous* and the present.' *Sensuous* is a word which is used twice in places where, as it seems to us, *sensual* would have been the right one. Johnson defines *sensuous* thus; 'Tender, pathetic, full of passion. *Not in use*;' and adds this quotation from Milton; 'To this poetry would be made precedent, as being less subtile and fine; but more simple, *sensuous*, and passionate.' This, we presume, is not the meaning which Mr Marsh intended in his use of the word. We do not like to notice such faults in respectable writers, but we deem it to be our duty.

6.—*Eulogy on the Hon. William Crafts, delivered before the Palmetto Society, in the Second Independent Church.* By E. S. COURTENAY. Published at their request. Charleston. Ellis & Neufville. 1826. pp. 15.

MR COURTENAY has rendered a happy and discriminating tribute to the lamented subject of his Eulogy. A sketch is presented of the biography of Mr Crafts, together with an account of his diversified talents and interesting character. The following passage describes his conduct as a statesman.

'Notwithstanding the unpopularity of his political opinions, he was several times elected to a seat in the General Assembly of his native State. In this situation he rendered important services to his constituents. He was early distinguished for his love of letters, and omitted no opportunity of disseminating a love of learning among the people. He felt, to use his own language, that "knowledge was the lifeblood of republics and free governments;" that the eagle was the bird of light, as well as of liberty. In the legislature he always advocated every measure which had for its object the encouragement of scientific and literary institutions. At a period when a shortsighted policy, aided by a parsimonious spirit, would have abolished the Free School System of the State, and left the children of the poor to all those innumerable miseries and crimes which are the almost certain consequences of ignorance, Mr Crafts undertook its defence, and in a speech replete with eloquence and good sense, depicted in glowing terms the blessings of knowledge to a state, and the curses

entailed upon it by the ignorance of its citizens. He was successful ; humanity and good sense triumphed over a narrowminded policy, which would have weighed the true wealth of the state, the intellect and moral character of the rising generation, with the gold and silver which fills its coffers.

‘ His friends might rest his character for usefulness as a legislator on this one act ; for if in ancient days, he who saved the life of a single citizen, was deemed worthy of the civic wreath, to what is he not entitled, who by his eloquence and zeal preserved to thousands that means of moral life, without which man is little better than the brute on which he banquets ; the prey of appetites and passions that degrade him in the scale of creation ; which unfit him for usefulness, and make him a burden to himself, and too often a curse to the state. If gratitude be not an imaginary virtue, while the free schools remain in existence, they will be identified with the name of Crafts ; his memory will long be cherished by the thousands who have participated, and the tens of thousands who shall hereafter participate in the blessings they impart. Mr Crafts was a philanthropist in the most extensive sense of that term ; he possessed a heart full of the milk of human kindness ; the sorrows of his friend, were felt as his own, and relieved, if in his power ; but his good feelings were confined in their operation to no narrow circle ; to no creed ; to no party ; whenever the voice of misery was heard, it was attended to with promptness ; his professional aid was never solicited in vain, by the poor or the oppressed. These feelings, so honorable to him in private life, were carried with him to the legislative halls of the State.’ pp. 10, 11.

The numerous friends of Mr Crafts will subscribe to the justness of the following delineation.

‘ In the private walks of life, no one was more amiable than our friend ; possessed of a lively fancy, a social disposition, and attractive manners, he was the idol of his friends and companions. The goodness of his heart was never called in question, it was perceptible in every action of his life, it tempered his wit in such a manner, that though all acknowledged its brilliancy, none complained of its point.’ p. 13.

We subjoin one more paragraph, on Mr Crafts’ talents as a writer, and believe, that in the wish expressed by the author at the conclusion of it, the voice of the public will very generally concur.

‘ Our friend was advantageously known as an essayist, both in this country and Europe. His compositions, published in the *Charleston Courier*, were copied into the principal newspapers throughout the United States and Great Britain, and were everywhere read and admired. As a writer he was chaste and concise ; his productions abounded with classical allusions, his com-

parisons drawn from the works of nature, evinced a correct taste and an imagination alive to the beauties of creation, that a good Providence had everywhere scattered around him. It is to be hoped that the orations delivered by him on various occasions, with a selection from the essays, printed in the journals of the day, will be collected and published; they would form a volume, which would be a valuable addition to the library of the man of taste, and constitute a durable and appropriate monument to his memory.'

7.—*Remarks on the Practicability and Expediency of establishing a Rail Road on one or more Routes from Boston to the Connecticut River.* By the EDITOR OF THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER. pp. 71. Boston. 1827. William L. Lewis.

THE report of the Massachusetts canal commissioners, published about a year since, confirmed an opinion which had before prevailed very generally in the community; that the obstacles to the formation and use of a canal from Boston to the Connecticut river, to say nothing about the more difficult route from thence to the Hudson, render the undertaking of such a work clearly inexpedient. Still, the enterprising citizens of Massachusetts are impatient at remaining idle spectators of the great works going on in the middle and western states, facilitating their trade of every kind, and advancing them in wealth and power, with a rapidity unknown in the world before.

The remarks of Mr Hale are calculated to allay this impatience by showing that Massachusetts is not doomed to forego all improvements in intercommunication. They were first published in the 'Boston Daily Advertiser,' probably, to meet the question, then about to be discussed by the legislature of Massachusetts, respecting the expediency of forming a railway from Boston to the Connecticut. Mr Hale appears to have made himself acquainted with most of the works that have been lately written on railways. His familiar knowledge of the geography of New England, cannot be unknown to our readers. With these qualifications, he has examined his subject as minutely as the compass of seventy pages would allow, and his little work must prove highly useful to the community. It is a common sense examination, apparently very impartial, and demands our assent to no more than it proves; and it must be a cause of congratulation to the people of Massachusetts, to know, that, after such an inquiry, Mr Hale is highly in favor of the railway.

We observe that Mr Hale has formed his estimates of cost, on rails of iron, rather than of some cheaper and more imperfect material. We entirely agree with him in the propriety of this. It is absolutely necessary in a work of this kind, to obtain public confidence by that thorough execution, which shall leave no doubt of its being always passable, and preclude apprehension of delay from derangement of any kind. Besides, in the economy of such works, it will be found that, generally, the expense of repairs on an imperfect work, will more than counterbalance the saving in interest on the cost of construction. Under these impressions we doubt whether Mr Hale has not committed an error in supposing, that it will be advisable to build a single pair of rails, with occasional turning platforms and additional rails to permit carriages moving in opposite directions to pass each other; rather than two entire railways. We would form the work to give the utmost facility to the carriages, and trust to the increase of travel, which this facility will itself produce, to redeem the expense incurred by it. An opinion has been somewhat general, that railways are superior to common roads, principally from the application of the steam engine in moving the carriages. This is by no means true; and although carriages are in some places, in England, moved by the steam engine, yet horses are, even there, more generally used; and we think Mr Hale is perfectly right in forming his estimates on the supposition that the use of horse power is best adapted to our circumstances. It certainly is so at present, and we can foresee no change or improvement, which shall reverse this condition.

We apprehend that the people need not the assurance of a revenue to the state, however desirable this might be in itself, to make such a work popular with them. They willingly tax themselves to procure the convenience of common roads. Will they not, then, be content to take the benefit of a highly improved road, without requiring that it shall produce to them a direct income? We believe that if, on examination of the subject, the people of Massachusetts shall have reasonable assurance that a railway to the Connecticut will produce four, or even three, per cent. on the cost, they will cheerfully undertake it. Indeed any loss, were a loss possible, which the present generation can be called upon to encounter, in prosecuting this work, will, we are satisfied, be amply repaid, in the next age, by securing in its ancient relations, a trade, which will otherwise, turn itself into some of the new channels, soon to be opened to it.

We have not examined the details of Mr Hale's pamphlet with sufficient care to warrant us in declaring them to be accurate. It appears, however, to bear those marks of attention to the subject, which seldom fail in directing an author to the truth.

- 8.—*Catalogue of Books in the Boston Athenæum, to which are added the By Laws of the Institution, and a List of its Proprietors and Subscribers.* Svo. pp. 360. William L. Lewis.

IN the number of this Journal for July last, we gave some account of the means which had been successfully adopted for increasing the funds and extending the usefulness of this institution. Since that time the measures, which were then in progress for enlarging the library, for laying it more extensively open to the use of the proprietors and subscribers, and for providing rooms for an exhibition of pictures, for public lectures, and for the accommodation of some of the scientific associations in the city, have been completed. Within the last year 13 or 14,000 dollars have been expended in the purchase of books in Europe, a part of which have been recently received, and the rest are daily expected; 460 volumes have been purchased here, and 3552 volumes, previously belonging to the library, have been bound or repaired. Besides these purchases, 673 volumes and 155 pamphlets have been received in donations, among which are D'Alembert's Encyclopedia in 35 vols. folio, given by one individual; a complete set of the Turin Academy's Transactions in 29 vols. 4to, by another; the Copenhagen Transactions in 17 vols. 4to, and the Stockholm Transactions, in 91 vols. 8vo, by another; a complete set of the Memoirs of the French Academies, and Institute, with all their indices and accessories, in 274 vols. 4to, by another; and 79 volumes of military works, by another. These donations consist of works imported for the purpose, to supply deficiencies in the library.

By the regulations of the Athenæum hitherto in force, no books have been permitted to be taken from the building, the original design of the institution being to furnish the means of prosecuting literary and scientific inquiries to those only who should resort thither for the purpose. But by a late regulation, proprietors of shares, and holders of life shares, on the payment of an annual assessment of five dollars, and subscribers to the Scientific Library, which is united with the Athenæum, on the payment of ten dollars annually, are permitted to take out books, each person to have at any one time not more than three volumes, and not to retain them longer than a month. The Librarian attends for the delivery and return of books, every day except Sunday, from noon to two o'clock.

To assist in carrying this regulation into effect, the present catalogue has been prepared. It is only an alphabetical index of the books, with a description of the edition. It embraces the

whole library, with the exception of about a thousand volumes of tracts, which are bound, and about an equal amount of tracts not yet bound. The catalogue of these is yet unfinished. When it shall be completed, another entire catalogue, arranged in the order of subjects, will probably be prepared. The number of volumes now at the Athenæum, together with those which have been ordered, and are daily expected, is about 23,000.

An entirely new arrangement of the apartments, and of the books, has been made. The shelves are numbered, and every book is marked in pencil, on the inside of the cover, with the number of the shelf to which it belongs. The number of the shelf is also annexed to the title of each book in the printed catalogue. Besides the printed catalogue, there is also one in manuscript, in which all the books are named in the order in which they stand upon the shelves. By means of this inventory, the books will be more easily kept in their places, and the annual examinations will be made with greater ease and precision.

The effecting of these improvements has imposed a very laborious duty upon the trustees of the Athenæum, and more especially upon the indefatigable committee under whose direction they have been principally made, and upon the Librarian. A further labor remains to be accomplished in the completion of the catalogues before alluded to, and in the arrangement of the extensive collection of medals and coins. Of these there are two cases containing 2060 silver and copper coins and medals, imperfectly arranged, besides 25 medals of gold, 26 of silver, 12 of white metal, 27 of base metal, and 281 of copper; 2938 ancient copper coins, 256 modern silver coins, and 7822 modern copper coins; making in all 13,437 medals and coins, many of which are very rare and valuable, and many others probably of little value.

The exhibition and lecture rooms, with the other apartments above referred to, are in a new building, just completed, from a plan by Mr Willard, situated in the rear of the main building of the Athenæum, and entirely detached from it. This new building is of three stories, and is sixty feet in length by fifty in width. The cost of it, exclusive of the land, was something more than thirteen thousand dollars. The upper story forms a single room, more than twenty feet in height, and lighted only from the dome. This room is intended for the exhibition of paintings. It is at present occupied by a distinguished artist, by permission of the trustees, with the understanding, that after the first of April, a public exhibition of pictures may be held there, which it is hoped will present a collection of treasures in the art, that will do honor to the city. The second story, which is eighteen feet high, consists of a lecture room, conveniently arranged for the accommo-

dation of a large number of auditors. The lower story contains four rooms, one of which will contain the apparatus for the lectures, another is to be occupied by the Academy of Arts and Sciences, for their library and meetings, the third by the Massachusetts Medical Society, and the fourth is at present unappropriated.

It deserves to be mentioned that during the past winter, the trustees directed the apartment containing the valuable collection of casts selected by Canova, and presented to the Athenæum by one of the proprietors, to be opened and warmed three evenings in each week, for the accommodation of such professional gentlemen as might desire to exercise themselves in drawing.

This institution is now possessed of nearly all the means for accomplishing the objects proposed by its founders. The two buildings afford ample accommodation for all the purposes for which they were designed. The library is placed on a footing for rendering it the most extensively useful, by the circulation of the books among the proprietors, and the excellent arrangements for facilitating the use of them at the library; and permanent funds are provided, the income of which will be sufficient, after defraying all other expenses, to admit of the expenditure of nearly three thousand dollars per annum in the purchase of books. The present property of the institution, including land and buildings, books, and money securely invested, exceeds one hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the many donations, some of which have been very munificent. More than thirtyfive thousand dollars have been given by three individuals of one family. The increase of property the last year has exceeded fortyfour thousand dollars, a part of it by the sale of additional shares, but the greater part by donations. There are now about two hundred and sixty proprietors' shares, which were purchased at three hundred dollars each, fifty life shares, at one hundred dollars each, thirtyfive subscribers to the Scientific Library, who are entitled to visit the Athenæum so long as they pay five dollars per annum, and to take out books by paying ten dollars per annum, and a number of subscribers, who are entitled to visit the Athenæum, by paying ten dollars per annum.

A great part of the medals and coins now in the possession of the Athenæum, were collected by the industry of the late William S. Shaw, Esq. probably with the intention of giving them to the institution, but he died intestate, and this intention remained unexecuted. His administrator, the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, in the most liberal manner, requested the trustees to accept, not only the medals and coins, but a large number of books and pamphlets, which with equal care Mr Shaw had collected. We copy from the last annual report of the committee of the trustees to

the proprietors, the following well merited acknowledgment of the obligation due from the community to this truly public spirited man, who was for many years the librarian of the Athenæum, and who watched over its interests with the most indefatigable attention.

'The committee cannot conclude this report, without adverting to the circumstance, that since our last annual meeting, the earliest and most active among the founders of the Athenæum; the individual to whom more than to any other, its existence and first success are due, has been removed by death. As a distinguished public benefactor, his name and memory should be especially preserved and cherished among us; for we owe him much. There was probably no other person in this community, who would have made so many personal sacrifices, to secure to this city the benefits we now enjoy, and the still greater benefits we may reasonably promise to ourselves and our children, from the foundation of this institution, which was chiefly established by his unwearied exertions, and which he lived long enough to see, not only an object of general interest and regard, but so munificently patronized and sustained, by the most liberal and intelligent among our citizens, that it had already become more than his most sanguine hopes had dared to anticipate.'

9.—*A Treatise on the Philosophy of the Human Mind; being the Lectures of the late THOMAS BROWN, M. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Abridged, and distributed according to the Natural Divisions of the Subject, by LEVI HEDGE, LL. D. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Harvard University.* In 2 Vols. 8vo. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown. 1827.

WE have on former occasions given at length, our opinion of the philosophical writings of Dr Brown, particularly of his Lectures, as published from his manuscripts after his decease.* The object of the present notice is simply the edition, whose title we have quoted; the new form in which these Lectures are now presented to the public.

The importance of many of the views of this author, and the many specimens of powerful reasoning and acute analysis contained in his Lectures, rendered it desirable to introduce the work into our systems of metaphysical instruction. Indeed every system of this kind must be regarded as deficient, which does not embrace one of so much celebrity.

* See North American Review, Vol. XIX. p. 1. and Vol. XXI. p. 19.

To the use, however, of Dr Brown's Lectures as a class book, in the form in which they first appeared, there are serious objections. It is too much to expect of the student in this science, that he should wade through the multitude of recapitulations, repetitions, and illustrations, which, however agreeable in themselves, tend to embarrass and overlay the doctrines of the author, that are thus buried under the weight of four large and closely printed octavos.

Diffuseness is a fault common to most of the writings of this author, which were published under his own inspection, and was of course much more likely to characterize a series of Lectures, written for daily delivery. The progress of a lecturer on an abstruse science, must necessarily be slow; his audience cannot follow him through a long train of deductions. He must be contented with stating a few points, and enforcing these, by presenting them in a variety of lights, and connecting with them numerous illustrations. It is also necessary that each Lecture should commence with a more or less extensive survey of the ground already gone over. The hearer must be put in a position, if we may so express ourselves, proper to enable him to take a new step. Almost every Lecture, therefore, will naturally be divided into three portions, of which the middle one alone will represent the real progress of the lecturer. The remaining portions, though necessary to most of the hearers of a course of lectures, are not at all so to him who is studying the system in the books of the teacher, and who may pause, at any time, to meditate upon and digest the portion, which he has perused. In order, therefore, to render this work useful as a class book, it was necessary that it should be abridged. And in making such an abridgment, no question could arise on the propriety of striking out the first portion of each Lecture, or so much of it as consisted of a mere recapitulation of the preceding. It was not so clear how much farther the reduction should be carried, and the admirers of Dr Brown had reason to fear in any such attempt, the zeal for abridgment might be carried too far, and the test of *cui bono* be too rigidly applied to the variations and eloquent illustrations of the author; that every flower, with which his genius had adorned the dry and unpromising path of psychology, would be condemned as a useless weed. We are happy to find that the editor of the present abridgment has carefully removed only what was evidently superfluous and burdensome, and has left the groundwork entire and uninjured. In plainer terms, as far as we have been able to examine Dr Hedge's edition, we have reason to consider it worthy of high commendation. He has merely retrenched absolute superfluities, and added nothing to the original work except a few

words, where they were necessary to connect the sense of passages, brought together on the removal of rescinded portions. He has thus diminished the work to about half its former size, and abstaining from note or comment of any kind, except a short and modest Preface, has presented it to the public, in a form, we think, in which the author would have been satisfied to see it. The division into Lectures is exchanged, of course, for that of Chapters and Sections, agreeing with the natural divisions of the subject.

Of the propriety and even absolute necessity of some such abridgment, as the present, for the purposes of a class or text book, there can be no doubt. But setting aside the service, which has thus been rendered to the business of education, we think the community have good cause to be gratified by the appearance of this edition. The doctrines supported in the Lectures of Dr Brown have certainly not been so generally understood or received, as their simplicity, truth, and importance to science deserve; and this is principally owing to the voluminous form, in which they have hitherto been offered to the reader. In their present state they will doubtless be much more attractive, and will soon become more commonly known and understood. And this is the more important, as some of the main points, though obviously correct and unavoidable, have been long regarded with a degree of suspicion and dislike, which is wholly unmerited, and chiefly to be ascribed to the dangerous and unwarrantable inferences drawn from them by Mr Hume and others of his school. The fallacy of these conclusions is in most instances exposed with great success, by Dr Brown, and we are thus permitted to receive the truth, without the supposed necessity of connecting with it the offensive consequence.

10.—*Address delivered before the Worcester Agricultural Society, Oct. 11, 1826, being their Eighth Anniversary Cattle Show, and Exhibition of Manufactures.* By Emory Washburn Esq.

THE influence of the associations throughout the country, for the improvement of Agriculture, has undoubtedly been salutary, principally from the opportunity which they afford to persons engaged in this branch of industry, at their annual exhibitions, to become acquainted with one another, and with the improvements made by any of them, and from the tendency which this inter-

course has to form a better taste, and a more correct judgment of the objects most deserving of their attention. Farmers who devote their attention strictly to the management of their own affairs, are, by the nature of their pursuits, confined to a narrow sphere of observation. They have not the opportunities, which are presented in many other departments of industry, to measure their skill, and the results of their labors, with those of other persons, successfully engaged in a similar pursuit. At these established festivals, the occasion is presented to them, of bringing together and comparing the fruits of their respective exertions, of enlarging the scope of their observation, of wearing off their prejudices, and of participating in common of that spirit of improvement, with which any portion of them may be animated. It affords also a favorable opportunity, in which an enlightened member of the association, appointed for the purpose, may, in a formal address, communicate the results of his observation, on the subjects which engage the common attention, and give useful advice, for the correction of faults which he may have discovered, in systems of husbandry, or in the methods of conducting affairs, prevalent among his neighbors.

The present Address affords a favorable illustration of the species of instruction which the occasion admits of being imparted to the yeomanry of the country. It calls their attention to mistakes and injudicious methods in the management of their concerns, which require only to be pointed out by an intelligent observer to be gradually corrected. The address is suited to the occasion which called it forth, and adapted to the promotion of those improvements, which it is the object of these associations to encourage. As a sample of the advice given in this address, and as a judicious and striking illustration of an error very frequent among our farmers, we extract the following passage.

‘The rock upon which the fortunes of many of our most industrious citizens founder, is an overweening desire of possessing *many acres*, rather than *well managed farms*. This propensity is so common, that its effects are visible in the loose state of agriculture in many districts. We generally agree in sentiment with those writers who condemn the large and almost useless commons, to be met with in many parts of England; and yet, many of our farms present but a little better picture, in their pastures, overgrown with brush and briars, and the rank weeds and unseemly balks which deform their mowing and tillage lands. Whether this disposition to become large proprietors is natural, or was brought by our fathers, with other prejudices, from a land where large manors are often the only evidence of greatness in their owners, it would be useless to decide. If it be a relic of those prejudices, it must have been found to produce effects the

reverse of those intended, since the possessor of a large farm, without the means of cultivating it as it should be, becomes a slave rather than a lord, and ere long finds himself dressed in the tatters of poverty, rather than the ermine of state.'

'This becomes not only a private but a public evil. It prevents the increase of our population and of our wealth. It drives our young and enterprising men to seek their fortunes in distant regions and new territories. Every fifty acres, that are thus withdrawn from the market and the improvement of proper husbandry, though they may lead to the occupation of a portion of the western wilderness, deprive us of the enterprise, wealth, and industry of our valuable citizens at least, and proportionably affect the actual wealth and physical strength of the state. By a proper division of our farms, not only would our territory support a larger population, but it would render our land proprietors more independent, since they would possess a more productive capital, than real estate alone, under ordinary circumstances, can ever be. Money would thus be thrown into the market at its fair value, and our farmers and mechanics need no longer be the dupes and victims of rapacious misers and relentless usurers. There would be a more equal proportion between the monied capital and landed interests, and though we might still have the croakings of the discontented about the hardness of the times, the prudent farmer would be beyond their influence, and his cottage, though small, would be the abode of ease and contentment.' pp. 10-12.

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- 11.—*Nouvelles Idées sur la Population, avec des Remarques sur les Théories de Godwin, Malthus, Say, Sismondi, etc.* Par ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Traduites de l'Anglais par C. J. FERRY. Paris. Jules Renouard. 1826.

As we have already more than once taken notice of this ingenious work,* we have only occasion now to say, that the translation, in which it is put into the possession of the French public, and of the reading community of Europe, appears, from our partial examination of it, to be made with fidelity and good taste, keeping near enough to the original to present all the thoughts in proper shape and succession, and yet not adhering to it so rigidly, as to lose the beauties of a flowing and idiomatic French style. The new Preface by the author contains, as we have before observed, some brief animadversions on the works of Say and Sismondi, the former of whom, Mr Everett maintains,

* See Vol. XVII. for Oct. 1823, and Vol. XXIV. for Jan. 1827.

deserts the leading principles common to himself and Malthus, in developing the juster views on which he is at issue with that writer; and the latter, though approaching nearer to the true theory, still admits some important errors, which, in consistency, are only to be deduced from that to which it is opposed. These strictures, with some passing remarks upon Malthus, Adam Smith, and Gray, the writer mentioned in the Preface to the first edition of his 'New Ideas,' are made in the frank and respectful tone which becomes philosophical discussion.

12.—*The Substance of two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College, to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board thereon.* Amherst. Carter & Adams. 1827. pp. 22.

THE purpose of the two Reports, the substance of which is given in this pamphlet, was to recommend certain improvements in the system of education, pursued in Amherst College. The first of these Reports consists of some general reasoning in favor of a material change in the course of instruction in the College. In the second, the subject is considered more in detail, in obedience to a resolve of the trustees, requesting the Faculty to draw up a specific plan of improvement, upon the basis of their former report.

The results of their investigation of the subject are presented in five distinct propositions. 1. In relation to preparatory studies, they recommend that no change should be made, in the qualifications required for admission to the College. 2. They recommend that the present four years' course of study and instruction, in the languages, and the scientific and literary branches, should remain unchanged, for all students who shall make their election to prosecute that course. 3. They recommend that provision shall be made for pursuing an entirely different course of instruction, for the benefit of all students, who, by the advice of their friends, on admission to the College, shall prefer it; this new course to occupy the same period of time with the other, but to be entirely different from it, by a substitution of several of the modern languages for the ancient, and a more popular and practical course of studies, in the place of those which now form the basis of a collegiate education. 4. They recommend the establishment of a distinct department of instruction, to be devoted to 'the science and art of teaching; but more especially at first, to the education of schoolmasters.' Their views in relation to this new department will be collected from the following paragraphs, which we extract from their Report.

‘To occupy the whole ground, will require,

‘1. Much time and talent in the selection, revision, and compilation of elementary school books.

‘2. An experimental school, consisting of young children, under the entire control of the department, where students may have opportunity to learn the art of teaching from example, and in which new methods of instruction may be tried, and the results carefully recorded.

‘3. Adequate provision for the systematic instruction of school-masters, in all the branches of education, in which they may have occasion to teach in our primary or district schools, together with the theory of teaching and government.

‘4. An able and connected review, or rather series of reviews, of all the popular systems of education now in use, particularly in our own country, with free and critical remarks upon College text books.

‘5. A course of lectures annually, by the professor, on the science of education, for the particular benefit of the regular members of College, but which other young men, wishing to qualify themselves for teaching, might be permitted to attend.’ p. 18.

Their fifth proposition recommends an establishment of a department of theoretical and practical mechanics; which may serve to afford exercise and amusement to the students, and ‘to a few of the more ingenious and active, some pecuniary advantage.’ In connexion with these opportunities for exercise, they propose that a course of practical lectures upon mechanics should be provided, during a part of one of the collegiate years. In recommending this measure, they say;

‘For a considerable time, at least, the skill and industry of this department might be profitably employed, in furnishing the College rooms upon a uniform plan; in keeping all the buildings and furniture in constant repair; in making some of the more common articles of philosophical and chemical apparatus; as also many curious models in machinery, for the use of the professors in other departments. Here would be ample scope for the exercise of all the mechanical ingenuity in the seminary; and surely, it would be no disadvantage to any professional man in after life, to have learned how to drive a nail, or put on a lock, or use a plane or a saw, when he was a student in College.’ p. 20.

It would be out of place here to express any opinion of the merits of these plans of improvement. The subject is much too important to be despatched in a few sentences, which is all that we could here devote to it. We may be disposed on some future occasion to devote a few pages to an examination of a part at least of the projects here stated.

We learn from the pamphlet, that the Report of the Faculty,

in which these improvements are recommended, was adopted by the unanimous vote of the Trustees. No provision, however, was made for carrying the plan into execution,—the pecuniary means of the College not being at present sufficient for that object. By accepting the report, they intended to express their approbation of the general plan, and their intention of incorporating the new course of instruction with their present four years' course; and to add the department of education, as soon as they can obtain the necessary means. The mechanic department they consider of less immediate consequence, but as deserving of a trial, as soon as the funds of the College will permit.

13.—*Elements of Mineralogy, adapted to the Use of Seminaries and Private Students.* By J. L. COMSTOCK, M. D. 8vo. pp. 338. Boston. 1827. S. G. Goodrich.

FROM the introduction of the *Elements of Mineralogy* as a branch of study in so many of our schools and higher seminaries, the want of a convenient and correct work, suitable for beginners, has been for some time felt. We know of no book which, in the present state of the science, is every way calculated to serve as an introduction to the more extended treatises. Professor Cleaveland, we had heard, was preparing such a work, and he will not find in the volume before us any cause for relinquishing his undertaking. Although Dr Comstock has presented us with much of the matter of Professor Cleaveland's volumes, we do not think that he has enriched it by the additions from other writers.

Since the publication of Professor Cleaveland's work, mineralogy has advanced with rapid strides, and while a vast number of new substances have been brought to light, others that were then considered as distinct species or varieties have been discarded. Of this Dr Comstock does not seem sufficiently aware, and as to new American localities, we find no evidence of his having ever heard of them. Most surely, in an American work, and one too professedly designed 'to facilitate the progress of science,' our own localities should have been diligently examined and made known. On the contrary, many of those which have afforded choice and abundant specimens are wholly omitted, while old errors, both as regards the localities and the minerals themselves, are retained.

Thus our author does not appear to have known that some of the finest crystals of Chrysoberyl have occurred at Saratoga, that Tabular spar has been *occasionally* found at Ticonderoga;

Yenite, Amethyst, and Grossulare at Rhode Island; Egerane at Worcester; Amazon stone at Beverly; Asparagus stone at Bilerica, &c.

Among other instances of an unpardonable inattention to the progress of the science, we may notice the description of Humite, which our author should have known has proved to be Condrodite (or what he calls Chondorcite), and so of Sillimanite, which has been ascertained to be Cyanite, and of Meionite, which is now referred to Scapolite. Under 'crystallized lepidolite,' we are told that it occurs at Paris in Maine, where no such thing is known; what was guessed to be such, is undoubtedly the kind of pseudomorphous talc, a substance *not exactly like a mica*.

In excluding from the external characters of minerals the angular measurements, he has at once struck out one of the three all important characters; and although we have a table at the beginning of the volume, it is incomplete, and, from the trouble of frequently turning back to it, will probably be altogether neglected by the pupil.

An air of parade is given to this book by the introduction of a few of Professor Mohs' new terms; but no kind of explanation is given, and we strongly suspect our author knows but little about it. It is but lately, it is true, that this new system has been made accessible, and its mysteries revealed by the labors of Mr Haidinger, but his work has been long enough before the public for any one to have made himself acquainted with its principles. To introduce us at once, without any preparation, to 'Pyramidal Pearl-Kerate' and 'Empyrodox Quartz,' is somewhat appalling; and we can well imagine the utter despair into which the 'private student' will sink at the sight of 'Brachytypous Parachrose-Baryte.' In giving, here and there, these and a few other of Mohs' synonyms, a ridiculous effect is given to his whole system, which it was due to the distinguished author to avoid, and which a few pages of explanation might have prevented.

This work is as full of errors of the press, as of the pen, and so far from facilitating the progress of science, carries us back something like ten years.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

An Elementary Course of Civil Engineering, translated from the French of M. J. Sganzin, Inspector General of Bridges, &c. With Notes and Applications, adapted to the United States. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 161.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the late Mrs Susan Huntington, of Boston, Massachusetts, with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By B. B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. Second Edition. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

The Life of the Rev Dr Cotton Mather. Philadelphia. 12mo.

DRAMA.

Sylla; a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By a Member of the Institute. Translated from the French, by a Citizen of New York. Behr & Kahl. 12mo.

EDUCATION.

Elements of Mineralogy, adapted to the Use of Seminaries and Private Students. By J. L. Comstock, M. D. Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 8vo. pp. 338.

Hawes's United States Spelling-Book. Second Edition. Augusta. W. M. Ladd. 12mo.

A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the French Tongue. By M. De Lévizac. New Edition. New York. 12mo. pp. 444.

American Popular Lessons. Ninth Edition. New York. W. B. Gilley. 18mo.

A Primer of the English Language, for the Use of Families and Schools. By Samuel Worcester. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 18mo. pp. 79.

Questions adapted to Whelpley's Compend of History. By Joseph Emerson. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 12mo. pp. 69.

Le Lecteur Français de la Jeunesse, ou Choix d'Historiettes Morales, Anecdotes, Fables en Prose et en Vers, &c. Rédigé par F. B. G. Northampton, Mass. Simeon Butler. 12mo. pp. 212.

The Family Instructor; relating to Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Husbands and Wives, &c. with Family Prayers.

Willet's Geography. A New Edition, with Cuts. Philadelphia.

A New Edition of Freeby's Astronomy, with the Method of Determining the Longitude, Aspects, &c. of the Planets for any future

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time, and an extensive set of Geographical and Astronomical Problems on the Globes.

The Eagle, or National Arithmetic. By D. Macurdy, Philomath. Baltimore.

Bentley's Spelling Book. Third Edition, improved.

The American Teacher's Assistant, and Self Instructor's Guide ; containing all the Rules of Arithmetic, properly explained and illustrated. With an Appendix. By John Mackay. Price \$1. Charleston, S. C.

The Second Book, or Reading Lessons for Primary Schools. New Edition. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 18mo.

Primary Lessons in Arithmetic. By Frederick Emerson. Second Edition. Boston. Lincoln & Edmands. 12mo. pp 34.

First Book for the Use of Teachers. By Elizabeth Oram. New York. James W. Campbell.

Practical and Mental Arithmetic, designed principally to accompany Daboll's System of Arithmetic, and equally adapted to any other. By Roswell C. Smith. Providence.

A new Treatise on the Use of Globes, with Notes and Observations. Designed for the Use of Schools and Academies. By James M'Intyre. Second Edition. Baltimore. E. J. Coale.

Map of the World in Outline, to be filled up by Students in Geography, accompanying the Rev. C. A. Goodrich's Outlines of Modern Geography. Boston. S. G. Goodrich.

The Young Scholar's Manual, or Companion to the Spelling Book ; By T. Strong. Fifth Edition. Greenfield. J. Denio.

The Analytical Reader, containing Lessons in Simultaneous Reading and Defining, with Spelling from the same. By Samuel Putnam. Second Edition. Dover. Samuel C. Stevens. 12mo. pp. 160.

Questions adapted to the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts, designed to be used in Academies and Common Schools. By the Rev. Isaac Jones, A. M. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 12mo. pp. 19.

Geography for Beginners, or the Instructor's Assistant in giving First Lessons from Maps ; accompanied with an Atlas. By Emma Willard. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 18mo. pp. 110.

Thompson's Arithmetic. Second Edition. Woodstock. David Watson.

A New and Improved Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Spanish Language. By Emanuel Del Mar, Teacher of the Spanish Language. New York. Bliss & White. 12mo.

The Child's Arithmetic. By William B. Fowle, Instructor of the Monitorial School. Second Edition. Boston. Thomas Wells. 18mo. pp. 104.

The Pestalozzian Primer, or First Step in Teaching Children the Art of Reading and Thinking. By John M. Keagg, M. D. Harrisburg. 12mo. pp. 126.

This work is evidently the production of a well fraught and reflecting mind, which has bestowed much attention on the important subject of early education, and really is what its title intimates, 'A first step in teaching children the art of reading and thinking.' The author says that 'the work was begun under a conviction that something of the kind is much needed in our primary schools, in order to create a habit of thinking, and of understanding what is read.' He has according-

ly subjoined to even the first and most elementary lessons, what he calls a *Dianoetic* lesson, consisting of certain words, or sentences, on which it is intended the teacher shall exercise the thinking powers of the learner, by making him point out the differences and resemblances of objects, with which he is most familiarly acquainted; thereby affording gratification to the strongest passion of a child, the desire of information. This seems to be the true way of blending the agreeable with the useful, and of making curiosity the handmaid of improvement. This work, to be useful, needs only to be known; we therefore heartily wish our author success in his undertaking, because we regard every effort to facilitate the acquisition of good knowledge, as doing something for the cause of public order, morality, and happiness.

The True English Grammar, being an Attempt to form a Grammar of the English Language, not modelled upon those of the Latin, Greek, and other Foreign Languages. By William B. Fowle. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 180.

A History of the United States, on a Plan adapted to the Capacity of Youth. By the Rev. C. A. Goodrich. Bellows Falls, Vt. Tenth Edition. James J. Cullen & Co. 18mo.

The Moral Instructor, and Guide to Virtue, being a Compendium of Moral Philosophy, in eight parts. By Jesse Torrey, Jr. Fifth Edition. Philadelphia. pp. 300.

This is a duodecimo volume of three hundred pages of very miscellaneous contents; but all of them apparently intended to effect one of the noblest purposes of human ambition, the reformation of manners, and diffusion of correct principles of conduct, among those classes of the community which have fewest opportunities for reading and reflection. Much the greater part of this volume is composed of extracts and abridgments; and these are generally made from the brightest pages of ancient and modern wisdom, as the following heads of its contents will prove; Epitome of the Moral Precepts of the Bible; Abridgment of the Lives and Moral Discourses of Confucius, Socrates, and Seneca; Abri-gments of the Law of Nature, of Penn's Maxims, Paley's Moral Philosophy, and Knigge's Art of Conversing with Men; selections from Franklin's Works, from the Spectator, and from the occasional Speeches and Addresses of some of the most distinguished men of our own country; the whole concluded by some didactic poetical extracts. But the first part, consisting of original essays, is the one on which Dr Torrey seems to have expended the most labor, and from which he, perhaps, expected to reap his most enduring laurels. And here we cannot but regret to see good intentions marred by so much bad taste; we subjoin two or three sentences, which are not unfair specimens of his style, carefully italicizing the same words which the Doctor has thought worthy of that distinction. The first is from his address 'To the People of the United States' 'It is but of little avail to the majority of the human family, that philosophers of different ages and nations have exerted their talents in perfecting the science of moral wisdom, as long as no one will take the pains to collect and concentrate the best fruits of their labors into a convenient *portable vehicle* for universal distribution, upon the *boundless table* of the *Printing Press*.' p. 3. And the following, which is the first sentence in his 'Serious Address to the rising Generation of the United States.' 'Favoured Youth, Contemplate calmly and attentively the sacred legacy which must soon be committed to your charge, in trust for your successors, and eventually for the whole human race! You constitute the only insulated *Ararat*, on which the olive branch of peace, and the "*glad tidings*" of freedom and happiness, can be deposited and preserved to a *groaning world drowned* in tears!' p. 18. We will add but one more. 'With an incredible infatuation, we have sacrificed the golden presents of Ceres on the hissing *copper* altars of crazy Bacchus. Were I allowed the privilege of obliterating the two greatest scourges of mankind, I would select the art of distilling food, and the art of war,' (p. 25); which we take to be a most evident imitation of the following, from the speech of Mr Matthews's Irish Barrister. 'If I could mount the winged horse Pegasus, I would fly over Mount Helicon, and travel the land of Egypt, to emancipate and elucidate all that can reverberate to substantiate the emaculation of all that puts you at present

in a consternation.' However much Dr Torrey may admire the practical wisdom of the ancients, he has never devoted his days and nights to those examples of a neat simplicity in style, which by refining the taste, tend to purify and elevate the morals. They would have taught him better than to bedizen with gaudy patches that philosophy, which ought to have been presented to the laborious and manly portion of the community, for which his work seems to have been designed, in her own sober and decent garments.

Goldsmith's *Roman History, for the Use of Schools*. Revised and corrected by William Grimshaw. Improved edition, stereotyped. Philadelphia. J. Grigg. 12mo. pp. 240.

Mr Grimshaw has, in this edition, corrected the typographical errors, with which the later editions of Goldsmith's *Abridgments* so much abound; and removed any grossness in language, which, in some few instances, rendered these valuable compends less useful in the schools to which youth of both sexes resort. He has also added a *Vocabulary of Proper Names* accentuated, in order to show their right pronunciation, which is a valuable appendage to the history.

An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography, on an Improved Plan. Accompanied by an improved Atlas. By Thomas T. Smiley. Fifth Edition, improved. Philadelphia. 18mo. pp. 252.

This is a compendium, resembling, both in plan and execution, many other small works on the subject; and comprising, in connexion with the Atlas, much geographical information.

Spanish Grammar, dedicated to the Youth of North America. By A. T. Letamendi, late Consul of Spain for East Florida. Charleston, S. C. Wm. Riley. pp. 255.

Mr Letamendi's motto is from Fiorilli;—'Few and clear rules, much reflection, and still more practice.' The author is an exile from Spain in consequence of his active attachment to the late constitution. His grammar is divided into two parts, *theory of words and practical use of them*. The execution of the work is full and clear, and well suited to the purposes for which it is designed. The author merits a fair share of patronage, as his grammar takes a high rank among the excellent ones, with which the public has been lately favored.

The American Teacher's Assistant, and Self Instructor's Guide; containing all the Rules of Arithmetic properly explained, and illustrated by an adequate Number of Examples; with an Appendix, containing a Key to the most difficult, and Answers to all the Questions. By John Mackey, Teacher. Charleston. A. E. Miller. 12mo. pp. 294.

Every attempt made by men of sense and experience to improve the common manuals of education, deserves encouragement. The following are the principles which this author exhibits as having guided him in the execution of his work.

'The mathematical theorems on which Arithmetic is founded, being as all other truths, unsusceptible of change, either for better or worse, it follows, that improvement can only be looked for, or successfully attempted in the extension, application, and illustration of its rules. I have accordingly directed my attention solely to these objects.

'Conceiving a knowledge of its first principles to be an essential prerequisite in the pursuit of any branch of art or science, I have given a more ample development of the primary rules than is usually found in books upon the subject. I have likewise extended the subsequent rules to all their useful cases, and illustrated the whole, throughout by an extra number of appropriate examples. Of these the greater part are questions of business; showing the real uses of the rules in the concerns of future life; but, the better to accommodate the work to the versatility of the youthful mind, I have occasionally introduced such as tend to familiarize it with interesting incidents of history; and others that may be termed questions of curiosity, calculated to obviate the danger of that disgust, which a tiresome sameness of intense application has a direct tendency to inspire.'

From a due examination of this work, we are warranted in recommending it as having fulfilled the promise held out, both in its title, and in the foregoing summary of principles. All is clear, full, and happily managed.

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In our opinion this edition would be still improved if more of the words were marked. The editor seems to have adopted no rule in this respect; but it would be a good rule, and one which might be followed without exception, to mark the *long penultimates* of all words consisting of more than two syllables; it being understood that such as are not marked are short. This would teach prosody to a certain extent and pronunciation fully, according to Walker's principles; by which all Latin words of *two syllables* are accented on the first; and all words of more than two syllables are accented on the penultimate *when that is long*, and on the antepenultimate when the *penultimate is short*. These are small matters, but they become of great importance when applied to the first lessons of education.

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